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Insiders are predicting a split in the Black Muslims. Malcolm X, ousted as No. 2 man in the organization, may form a splinter group to oppose Elijah Muhammed.

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36 CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Edition: 5 STAR FINAL TUR
Author: J.V. UPGRADE
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 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
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THE CHALLENGER AND FRIENDS — Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslim movement in New York City is shown with his family and Cassius Clay, at Clay's training camp in Miami, Fla. Minister Malcolm and his family were guests of the challenger for the heavyweight boxing title.

and were celebrating their wedding anniversary. From left in the photo are Minister Malcolm's wife, Betty, daughter Attala, Minister Malcolm, daughter Qubilah, Clay and baby daughter Ilyasah. (Photo by Robert Haggins)

I New York Courier

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2/1/64

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Edition:

Author: Beverly Carter

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Say Malcolm X Barred From Chicago Meeting

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, militant and outspoken stalwart of the Black Muslims, will not attend the Chicago convention of the group, according to a story in the New York Amsterdam News.

The story followed a series of rumors, denied by Muslims in Chicago, that Malcolm is locked in a "power struggle" with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the sect. The Chicago convention is set for Feb. 26.

Malcolm was suspended by the Muslim leader in early December during the period of national mourning for President Kennedy when Malcolm was said to have made remarks critical of the late President.

"We expect some 2,000 delegates and all Muslims who are in good standing can attend. Since Malcolm is still under suspension, he is not in good standing," John Ali, national secretary of Muhammad's Mosque, reportedly told a correspondent of the Amsterdam News.

Because Malcolm's suspension from normal activities is "indefinite," Ali said, "it would be unlikely to assume that it

would be lifted before the convention." The sole decision, according to Ali, is up to Muhammad, who is now in Phoenix, Arizona.

It seems that the suspension is not something that would be determined by other ministers and officials who attend the convention.

Following his suspension, Malcolm remains silent in his New York residence, and has not made any public or religious appearances at Mosque No. 7, of which he was the former minister. Visiting Muslim leaders from around the country have appeared to take over Malcolm's duties at the Mosque. A large delegation of New Yorkers have chartered planes to fly to the one-day convention.

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4 CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOI

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Mr. Evans
Mr. Gandy
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
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WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, FEB. 23 -- A bitter struggle for control of the fanatic Black Muslim movement has broken out.

The protagonists: Malcolm X, a fiery, self-admitted recovered narcotics addict who has been the Muslims' leading spokesman in recent years; and Elijah Muhammad, a self-styled Messenger of Allah who has been the country's Muslim-in-Chief for three decades. *B7C B7C*

Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for an indefinite period three months ago "for making wisecracks about the assassination of President Kennedy." *B7C*

The remarks were but an excuse to muzzle Malcolm, Muhammad's only rival. A confidential government report reveals that Malcolm "has not taken this disciplinary action gracefully and he has attempted to develop support among other leaders of the Black Muslims in other sections of the country." *B7C*

Malcolm has reportedly won to his side the influential New York faction. Chicago leaders -- many of whom are sons and daughters of Muhammad -- have stuck by their leader. *B7C*

There have been efforts to characterize the Muslim rift as a contest between moderates and extremists with Malcolm leading the radical contingent. Such an observation is folly. *B7C*

In June, 1962, a plane carrying 130 Americans crashed in Paris, killing all aboard. Malcolm then laid down Muhammad's line in a Los Angeles speech:

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that happened. As you know, we have been praying to Allah. We have been praying that He would in some way let us know that He has the power to execute Justice upon the heads of those who are responsible for the lynching of Ronald Stokes (killed by police in a Black Muslim riot)."

"And I got a wire from God today."

At this point Malcolm was interrupted by wild laughter.

"Wait! Wait! Well, somebody came and told me that He really answered our prayers over in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over a hundred and twenty white people on it, because Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Menzied cheering then broke out.

"He gets rid of them in one whoop...But thanks to God, or Jehovah, or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."

Muhammad, the alleged moderate, proclaims "the devil is the white man -- the white man is a doomed race." Muhammad's teaching holds that white men were "by nature created as liars and murderers; they are the enemies of truth and righteousness, and the enemies of those who seek the truth...the human beast -- the serpent, the dragon, the devil, and Satan -- all mean one and the same: the people or race known as the white or Caucasian race."

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FOR RELEASE MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1964
BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

PAGE 2
xx race!"

Muhammad comes close to preaching outright sedition. His followers dodge the draft. He speaks knowingly of the "Battle of Armageddon" and has promised that "white rule in the United States will be overthrown by 1970."

Muslims are forbidden to eat pork. A Muslim minister explained why: "The hog is dirty, quarrelsome, greedy, ugly, foul, a scavenger which thrives on filth. It is a parasite to all other animals. It will even kill and eat its own. Do you agree? In short the hog has all the characteristics of a white man."

The dispute between Malcolm and Muhammad may come out into the open at the Muslims' upcoming convention. More than 2,000 delegates are expected to attend and it is not known if Malcolm will be seated.

"All Muslims who are in good standing can attend," a Muslim spokesman said the other day. Whether that includes Malcolm is not known.

Minister Lonnie 3X, a Muslim leader in the District of Columbia, refused comment when asked about the Malcolm-Muhammad feud.

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Cassius Clay May Back Malcolm If Black Muslim Group Divides

By MAJOR ROBINSON
(Of The New York Courier)

The absence of Malcolm X, controversial and fiery leader of the Muslims local Mosque, from the convention of the black sect in Chicago Wednesday, has spurred rumors that he has ended his association with Elijah Muhammad and would soon announce the formation of a new group.

The guest of heavyweight champ Cassius Clay for the past month in Miami, Malcolm X has been unusually quiet since his suspension as New York spokesman for the Muslims last November when he made alleged derogatory remarks concerning the death of the late President, John F. Kennedy.

Attempts to learn whether his suspension is a temporary or a permanent one met with stony silence at the Muslims' headquarters in Chicago. Many insist that Muhammad's immediate family resented the status of Malcolm as the most quoted in the newspapers and on TV of the Muslims.

Denies Membership

Though he has denied his affiliation with the Muslims, the Courier learned that the newly-crowned heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own.

For the past few years Clay has flirted with the idea of becoming a "silent worshippers" of the Muslims. In Miami, a few weeks ago his father admitted

that his son was a member. Clay did attend a Muslim meeting in Philadelphia in the fall last year.

Considered the strongest and most powerful of the Muslim leaders, Malcolm's New York followers are more militant than

their Chicago brothers, whom they consider as being conservative.

An insider told the Courier that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the cur-

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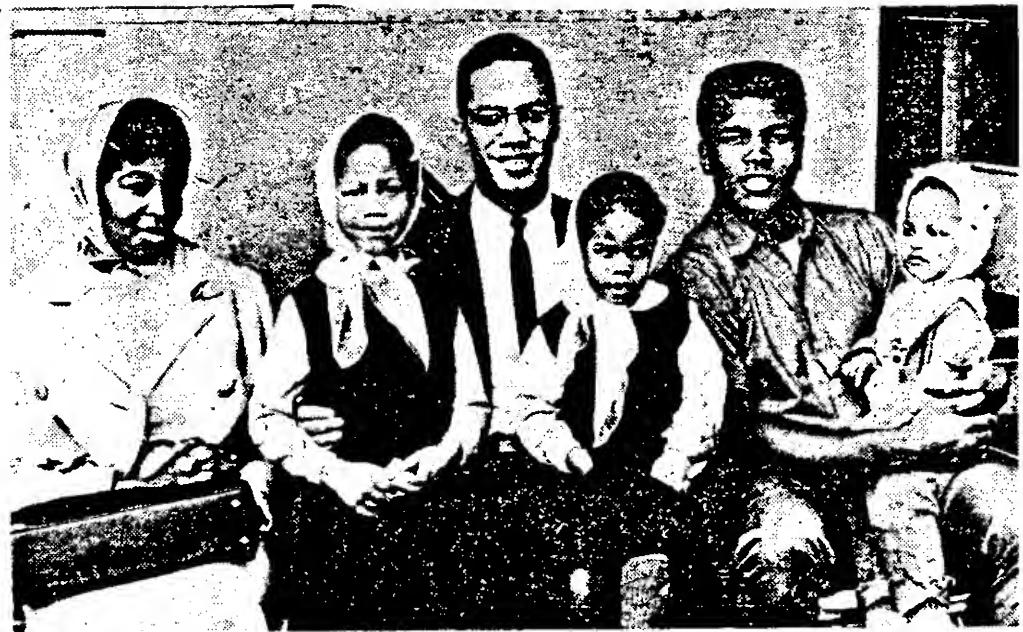
rent Negro revolution, while Muhammad's inner circle is satisfied with their present image.

Another factor in Malcolm's favor is that the business interests of the New York Mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes. They point out that the Windy City faction hasn't fared this well and jealousies have developed as a result.

In any attempt to go out on his own Malcolm would need money to start from scratch. With the backing of Clay he could find support from as many as 75 per cent of those who belong to the New York temple.

At the one-day Chicago convention, the 5,000 members expected to be in attendance were to be addressed by Elijah Muhammad, who flew in from Phoenix where he stays most of the time due to failing health. The words he uttered there could be the tip-off to whether Malcolm stayed or quit as a member of the sect.

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, wired Muhammad to give careful judgment before he condemned Malcolm X. He is regarded as being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past.



HE'S THE GREATEST — Champ Cassius Clay is shown above with his friend Malcolm X, Muslim minister of New York and Malcolm's family. This photograph was taken several weeks ago while Clay was training for the world's heavyweight champion-

ship which he won Tuesday night in Miami. Malcolm was Clay's guest for a month in Florida. Speculation continues that Clay may support the fiery Malcolm if the Muslim movement splits.

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Report Clay, Malcolm X Plan New Organization

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, suspended New York leader of the Black Muslims, may soon break his ties with the group and form a new organization with the backing of new heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, according to Major Robinson, writer for the New York Courier.

Malcolm was recently suspended from all of his former official duties as minister of Mosque No. 7, in New York's Harlem area, when he made some allegedly derogatory remarks concerning the death of late President John F. Kennedy.

He was suspended by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims.

Robinson states he learned that "the newly-crowned heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own."

In Miami, several weeks ago, Clay's father told the press that his son was a member and, in fact, did attend a Muslim confab last fall in Philadelphia, Pa.

Robinson's article points out that the Muslims in New York are much more direct and militant.

"An insider said," Robinson wrote, "that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the current Negro revolution while Muhammad's inner circle, is satisfied with their present image."

Several "omens" are in Malcolm's possession, Robinson says, should the Muslim leader decide upon forming a splinter group.

Robinson also points out the fact that "business interests of the New York mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes."

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, Robinson said, "Wired Muhammad to give

careful judgement before he condemned Malcolm. He is regarded as being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past."

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10 CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Johr	✓
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Callahan	✓
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UPI-203

(MALCOLM X) NEW YORK--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SUGGESTED TONIGHT THAT NEGROES WHO ARE OPPRESSED BY SEGREGATIONISTS "SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR RIFLE" WITH WHICH TO RETALIATE.

MALCOLM, WHO SPLIT WITH THE MUSLIMS DURING THE WEEKEND TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN BLACK NATIONALIST PARTY, SAID IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW ("WALTER CRONKITE WITH THE CBS EVENING NEWS") THAT IN SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRY NEGROES ARE BEING "BRUTALIZED" BY SEGREGATIONISTS.

"I THINK THAT EVERYONE OF THOSE NEGROES SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE WITH WHICH HE SHOULD ALWAYS OBEY THE LAW." MALCOLM SAID, "BUT ANYTIME ANY SEGREGATIONIST OR WHITE SUPREMIST BIGOT MAKES ANY EFFORT WHATSOEVER TO BRUTALIZE THE NEGRO, THAT NEGRO SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE AND HE SHOULD USE IT TO DEFEND HIMSELF."

MALCOLM WAS NOT INVITED TO THE FEB. 26 BLACK MUSLIM CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, THE REASON SOURCES HAVE GIVEN FOR HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CULT.

HE SAID BLACK NATIONALISM "IS THE POLITICAL CONCEPT IN WHICH THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE STRIVING FOR A NATION OF THEIR OWN. THEY ARE EXPRESSING A DESIRE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN POLITICAL DESTINY, BEING IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN POLITICS."

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CORRECTION:

IN MALCOLM X NEW YORK (UPI-203) READ 1ST PGH XXX NEGROES WHO ARE OPPRESSED BY (OPPRESSSED STEB OPPOSED).

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

Suspended Muslim Leader
Plans Black Nationalist Political Movement

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X broke last night with Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslim movement and announced that he was organizing a politically oriented "black nationalist party."

He said the party would seek to convert the Negro population from nonviolence to active self-defense against white supremacists in all parts of the country.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said, "but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

"I have reached the conclusion," he said, "that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam and continuing to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes."

Had Been Suspended

Malcolm has been under suspension by Mr. Muhammad as the New York leader of the separatist Black Muslim movement.

He asserted last night that the movement had "gone as far as it can," because it was too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited.

"I am prepared," Malcolm said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm said he had accepted

Continued on Page 42, Column 4

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MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

an invitation to help a civil rights committee in Plaquemines Parish (County), La.

"There is no use deceiving ourselves," Malcolm said. "Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for the Negroes, and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives, but I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

Deception Charged

Malcolm continued:

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

"I shall tell them what a real revolution means—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

Malcolm said Elijah Muhammad had prevented him from participating in civil rights struggles in the South although he had had many opportunities to do so.

"It is going to be different now," Malcolm said. "I'm going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help, and I suspect my activities will be on a greater and more intensive scale than in the past."

Would Speak at College

"I shall also accept all important speaking engagements at colleges and universities," Malcolm said, "because I find that most white students are more attuned to the times than their parents and realize that something is fundamentally wrong in this country."

Malcolm has spoken at more than 20 colleges and universities, including Harvard and Yale. He said his popularity as a university speaker had aroused the animus and jealousy of Elijah Muhammad's family.

Malcolm said his chief opponents in the Chicago headquarters were Elijah Muhammad's son-in-law, Raymond Sharif, head of the Fruit of Islam (security guard) and Akbar Muhammad, Elijah's son.

They feared, according to Malcolm, that Malcolm's national reputation as a Black Muslim leader would make him the natural heir to leadership of the movement.

Malcolm said that jealousy and personal rivalry were responsible for his suspension last December.

"Envy," Malcolm said, "blinds men and makes it impossible for them to think clearly. This is what happened."

Malcolm's speech at Manhattan Center after President Kennedy's death was only the excuse for his suspension, Malcolm said. In that speech Malcolm declared that Mr. Kennedy's assassination was a case of the "chickens coming home to roost."

Malcolm contended that his phrase had been misinterpreted. He said he had meant that a spread of social hatred had created an atmosphere that made assassination possible.

Malcolm said he had not been invited to the annual Black Muslim convention in Chicago on Feb. 26. Later, he said, he telephoned Elijah Muhammad and requested clarification of his status.

He received a letter from Mr. Muhammad that left the question unanswered, he said.

Malcolm said he decided then that the time had come for him to act, but that he would not set himself up as a rival to Mr. Muhammad or provoke him.

Plans New York Base

Malcolm declared that his first task would be to construct an organization based in New York. He said that he was supported by many Negro intellectuals and professionals who could not accept Islam but accepted the Black Muslim view of race relations in the United States.

Malcolm contended that Negroes were dissatisfied with the progress of the civil rights movement and that this had created the basis for a successful black nationalist political movement. He declared:

"The white power structure is hopeful that the civil rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise. They are mistaken. The white leaders don't realize the extent to which the civil rights leaders have deceived them about the true feelings of the Negroes."

"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their power to decide next November whether Johnson stays in the White House or goes back to his Texas cotton patch."

Malcolm said he was not trying to split the Muslims.

"I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. It is not my desire to encourage any of them to follow me," he said.

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New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date 3-13-64

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Malcolm X to Start Own Muslim Group

NEW YORK, March 8 (AP) a political concept and form
The New York Times said to-night that Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, once chief spokesman for the antiwhite organization, has left the movement and formed his own group.

Malcolm said the Black Muslims were "too narrow and too inhibited to participate in the national struggle." The Times said, explaining he was forming a broad-based, politically oriented party.

Malcolm once was considered heir apparent to Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, whose headquarters are in Chicago.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said, "but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as

of social action against the oppressors."

Malcolm declared that the present Black Muslim movement has "gone as far as it can" because it is "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited."

"I am prepared," he said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm has taken credit for the conversion of heavyweight champion Cassius Clay to the Black Muslims.

Washington Post

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Muslim Leader Rules Out Violence in Aide Split

By DON CARSON
 Associated Press Staff Writer

The leader of the Black Muslims declared last night that a reported split with his top aide would not lead to Negro violence.

"My people are more adapted to peace," Elijah Muhammad said. "They believe in peaceful solutions."

Muhammad, the 65-year-old leader of an estimated 275,000 Negroes, spoke during an interview in his southeast Phoenix home.

His eyes watered occasionally as he spoke about the defection of Malcolm X, considered the No. 2 man in the movement.

Malcolm X bolted the parent group Sunday to promote "active self defense against white supremacists." He declared that he was still a Muslim, but intended to work on his own.

"We are surprised," Muhammad said. "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the Nation of Islam. Every one of the Muslims admired him. But what he has said makes it definite. He has deviated."



MALCOM X
 SON A Muslim

"Maybe I'm a little too slow for him," Muhammad said. "He's energetic. But he has more brains than to start any violence. He doesn't have any guns, any ammunition."

Muhammad said his organization would continue to pursue the peaceful approach in his attempt "to follow the revelations which came to me from Allah."

Muhammad said the Muslims believe in separation of race only "if America will not give us equal justice."

Then he added: "I see no signs of equal justice."

If this is not attained, he said the Muslims ask that the "slave master and his slave be separated. Let us return where they brought us from, and if not that, then give us some territory and give a little start and let us live by ourselves."

"Instead of trying to tolerate dissatisfaction between white and black and mongrelize the nation, let us separate."

Predicting failure for any attempt at Negro violence, Muhammad said he felt Malcolm X's action would have no effect on the outcome of the Civil Rights bill pending in Congress or on the attitudes of the nation's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes.

He also revealed that he had contacted leaders in such Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, but had received no answers yet.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 39

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PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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Fiery Malcolm X plans own outfit

By RALPH MATTHEWS JR.

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Malcolm X has left the Black Muslim religious organization and will form his own revolutionary party.

"There can be no revolution without bloodshed," the fiery suspended official of the semi-secret sect headed by Elijah Muhammad said Sunday in announcing his break. "It is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

The new organization Malcolm is establishing will have as a key goal teaching colored Americans "self-defense" against white racists.

IN SERVING notice that he was going it alone, Malcolm X said he felt the philosophy on non-violence stressed by civil rights organizations was a deception and that colored people would see they had been tricked "because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

He said he will make a formal statement Thursday in

Harlem outlining future plans and his official reasons for stepping aside as the number two spokesman for the militant movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

In withdrawing from leadership of the Muslims, the fiery Malcolm, former name Malcolm Little, Muslim name Malcolm Shabazz, gives up his powerful post as spiritual leader of the thousands of Black Muslims based in the greater New York area.

Reports had been circulating for several weeks that Malcolm was splitting with Mr. Muhammad. The leader of the Muslims suspended his New York chieftain in December following Malcolm's comments on the assassination of President Kennedy.

Malcolm had stated publicly that the President's slaying

was "chickens coming home to roost."

Mr. Muhammad had suspended him from public speaking for an undetermined time after that.

MALCOLM BROKE his silence this weekend.

He told this reporter: "I don't intend to remain in the organization and I don't intend to make a public statement until Thursday.

"I can tell you that I am still a Muslim, I believe in Allah, I still believe in Mr. Muhammad."

But the tall bespectacled Malcolm added: "During this 90 days of silence," which referred to his suspension by the Muslim leader, "I decided I can do better work toward awakening and uniting Colored people with Mr. Muhammad's message but on my own."

WHERE DOES Malcolm's decision to quit the Black Muslims leave Cassius Clay, new heavyweight boxing champion, who revealed after his Liston triumph that he was a follower of Islam?

Informed observers in Harlem say that Cassius will remain within the Black Muslim official family as a follower of Mr. Muhammad.

Asked about the reported plan for him to accompany Cassius on a tour of the Middle East Islamic countries, Malcolm disclaimed knowledge of such a trip. "I know nothing about any tour."

With Malcolm's defection, people close to the militant religious sect which takes Islam as its faith and combines love of Allah with the program to separate colored Americans from white America, are speculating on the New York leader's plans.

Some feel he would join forces with one or another of the Black Nationalist groups based in Harlem. Many think Malcolm will form a link with Lewis Michaux, a fervent black nationalist who advocates colored Americans returning to Africa for re-colonization.

IT IS ALSO reported that Malcolm's legitimate

name have decided to remain within the Black Muslims. Henry X and other ranking Muslims here have stated their intent to stay with Mr. Muhammad.

In leaving an organization whose membership estimates vary from 100,000 to half-a-million, the guessing game in Harlem now is how many of the Fruit of Islam will cast their lot with the stormy Malcolm, a man who renounced his past as a criminal and become one of the intellectual leaders of the colored Americans' current revolution.

MALCOLM also revealed this weekend that Elijah Muhammad had ordered him to not join the civil rights struggle in the South.

"It's going to be different now," he commented, adding that he would now be able to go anywhere colored people

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Trotter
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Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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— THE SUN

— THE EVENING SUN

— THE DAILY SUN

— THE NEWS

— THE AMERICAN

— BALTIMORE, MD.

ppl & 2 AFRO-AMERICAN

Date: 3/10/64

Edition: 5 Star

Author: RALPH MATTHEWS JR.

Editor:

Title: MALCOLM X

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AFTER THE BREAK WITH MUHAMMAD

Malcolm X says group will stress politics

By William Worthy

BROTHER MALCOLM X—as he now designates himself as leader of the new Muslim Mosque, Inc.—hinted strongly March 12 that he will soon plunge into all-out political activity. The Negro leader, who recently broke with the Nation of Islam (Black Muslim) movement headed by Elijah Muhammad, told a crowded press conference at the Park Sheraton in New York: "We will keep our 1964 election plans a secret until a later date, but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sellout again."

The Negro, Malcolm added, "will never be considered politically mature as long as he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican."

In answer to a question by Daniel Watts, editor of *Liberator* magazine, Malcolm said he didn't know at this point if he and his followers would co-operate with the recently organized all-Negro Freedom Now Party.

The site of the newly incorporated mosque has not been determined, but Malcolm is setting up personal headquarters at Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

ABOUT COMMUNISTS: In an exchange with a British reporter, Malcolm declined to rule out acceptance of possible Communist support. He resorted to one of his familiar parable-type responses to avoid a direct yes-or-no answer.

"Let me tell you a little story. It's like me being in a wolf's den. The wolf sees someone on the outside who is interested in freeing me from the den. The wolf doesn't like that person on the outside. But I don't care who opens that door and lets me out."

"Then your answer is yes?"

"No," replied Malcolm, grinning. "I'm talking about a wolf."

Malcolm's response to questions about his personal political plans struck a vein reminiscent of statements by active "non-candidates" early in a campaign.

"I've no plans to run for office, but I think Negroes who can't be bought out should be the type of person to run for office."

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MESSAGE TO MUHAMMAD: Aides of the Muslim leader whom this reporter has previously seen around the Harlem mosque distributed copies of a telegram sent by Malcolm to Muhammad:

"I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was national officials @ Chicago headquarters who conspired with Elijah Muhammad here in New York to pressure me out of the Nation.

I have never spoken one word of criticism to the press about your family. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers."

"Our political philosophy," Malcolm said in reference to his new movement, "will be black nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be black nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be black nationalism."

RIFLE CLUBS: Malcolm called for the formation of rifle clubs "in areas where the government seems unable or unwilling to protect our people." In reply to a question about the danger that this might create of civil war, he declared: "What would you prefer? Civil war, or that Negroes should continue to have Birmingham?"

Malcolm compared the present civil rights bill in Congress to a handout of counterfeit money given hypocritically to a starving, desperate man. "If the civil rights bill passes," he said, "there will be trouble. If it doesn't pass, there will be trouble."

He challenged the government to prosecute him for advocating "active self-defense." "If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job [of protecting Negroes]," he said.

Malcolm indicated he expects to garner widespread popular support. "I'm intelligent enough," he said, "not to take what you call an extreme position if I didn't know that Negroes were behind me. You would not get me to stick my neck out alone."

He said the accent would be on youth. "We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us."

Malcolm said Cassius Clay, as heavyweight champion, could do more than anyone else to lift the morale of Negroes. He denied that the boxer is financing the new movement and said he had no plans to accompany Clay abroad. Malcolm indicated that whites can contribute financially, but cannot join his group.

"Whites always out-join blacks," he declared.

EARLIER INTERVIEW: In an interview with this reporter March 9, Malcolm was cautious in discussing strategy and plans. Asked what he meant by "active self-defense," he gave an indirect reply: "Any time colored people get tired of being victims, there will be bloodshed. Anytime they bleed, that's not called bloodshed. Only when they retaliate and draw

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National Guardian pg. 4

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MALCOLM X ADDRESSING A RALLY IN HARLEM

He says Negroes should defend themselves, unless government does

blood from the other side does the daily press call it bloodshed." He added that anyone who turns the other cheek is a coward.

Malcolm indicated that his new mosque would be freer and more flexible than the Nation of Islam mosque: "It will have a religious base broad enough to allow for whatever action is necessary to solve the problems of our people, mentally, economically, politically, etc."

He called for all Negro organizations, including civil rights groups, to band together to fight police brutality and such measures as New York's newly enacted "stop-and-frisk" law which permits the police to stop and search people on the basis of suspicion alone.

TALK WITH MUHAMMAD: In a long-distance telephone conversation an hour earlier with Muhammad at his Phoenix home, I asked the Black Muslim leader: "Will Malcolm's announced withdrawal from the Nation of Islam change your orientation and program?"

Muhammad replied: "His departure will have no effect on us . . . I don't see how he could take such a contrary and

ignorant way."

"Will you cooperate with civil rights groups, as Malcolm now says he will?"

"No, no, no. We have our own program. The only way we would cooperate is for them to accept Islam. My mission is divine. I'm under orders of Allah. God will take care of this race problem. There is no political solution."

Malcolm's return will not be solicited, Muhammad said. "When someone leaves us, we don't go after him," he declared.

Muhammad, a long time asthma sufferer, laughed when queried about a possible successor to him. "I don't have the tiniest thought who Allah would put in my place if I died," he said.

MALCOLM X SEES RISE IN VIOLENCE

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Says Negroes Are Ready to Act in Self-Defense

By M.C. HANDLER
Malcolm X predicted yesterday that there would be more racial violence than ever in the United States in 1964. He declared that "Negroes on the mass level" were ready to act in self-defense.

The Negro leader broke last Sunday with the separatist Nation of Islam, or Black Muslim movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

He announced then that he would organize a broadly based, politically oriented black-nationalist movement composed of Muslims, Christians, and non-believers who were intellectually and emotionally ready to follow the black nationalist banner.

Yesterday, at a news conference in the Park Sheraton Hotel here, Malcolm formally opened this drive.

"There will be more violence than ever this year," Malcolm told the reporters. "White people will be shocked when they discover that the passive little Negro they had known turns out to be a roaring lion. The whites had better understand this while there is still time. The Negroes at the mass level are ready to act. It is dangerous to deceive the white people into believing that all is well."

Assails Nonviolence

Malcolm urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence in the civil rights struggle. He asserted:

"It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law."

"In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality and the Government seems unable or unwilling to protect them," Malcolm said, "we should form rifle-clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Phenix City, Ala., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their right to kill those dogs."

"We should be peaceful, law-abiding," Malcolm said. "But the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked." "If the Government thinks I am wrong for saying this," he declared, "then let the Government start doing its job."

Accompanied by Muslims

Despite his statement Sunday that he would not seek to take members away from Elijah Muhammad's movement, Malcolm arrived at the news conference accompanied by several Black Muslims who have presumably followed him out of the Chicago-based organization.

Malcolm's nonsectarian appeal to Negroes is apparently producing results. Christians who were formerly inhibited from joining the black nationalist movement because they did not want to join Islam are now coming to New York to confer with Malcolm.

One of those who attended the news conference was Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, the Negro social historian and author from Atlanta, who came to New York to see Malcolm. Dr. Lincoln is the author of an authoritative study of the Black Muslim movement.

Headquarters Set Up

Malcolm announced that he had established temporary headquarters at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem and would soon open his own mosque for those of his followers who are Muslims.

He said the mosque would be a meeting place for Negroes of all religious persuasions who wanted to enter into discussions of the black nationalist movement.

Malcolm said his new movement was being financed by voluntary contributions. He said he would accept contributions from whites but that white people could never join the movement "because when whites join an organization they usually out-join it."

He said that while "internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it" he still regarded Elijah Muhammad as his spiritual leader and teacher.

Although a return to Africa is his ultimate goal, Malcolm said that this was a long-range prospect. In the meantime, he said, "22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education, and jobs right now."

He said that he was prepared to cooperate in civil rights action even though he opposed integration and favored complete separation as the only true solution for the Negro people.

In answer to a question, Malcolm said that Negroes could not consider themselves politically mature until they ceased regarding themselves as Democrats or Republicans.

Only when the two parties understand that they can no longer count on Negro votes, he said, will the "corrupt politicians" be swept out.

Questioned about the school integration dispute in New York, Malcolm said that he did not oppose any rational solution but that he believed the only real solution would be to improve the quality of the Negro schools.

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The New York Times

PREDICTS RACIAL VIOLENCE: Malcolm X, a leader of black nationalists, at ~~news~~-conference here yesterday.

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— Malcolm X —

THERE IS LITTLE to be said about Malcolm X that responsible Negro leaders have not already said: That he damages the cause of equal rights, that his advocacy of violence under the fraudulent disguise of "self-defense" basely appeals to passion and hatred.

He is, we would say, far more concerned with power and vainglory than with the rights of Negroes. His own words convict him of having no deep convictions — for instance this statement: "I am too intelligent to take a stand as militant and controversial and, as you might say, extremist, unless I had some support."

Is not this the same as saying that he is too intelligent (or temporizing) to take a militant, controversial, extremist stand unless he found it expedient to do so?

Like all demagogues, of any race or color, he feeds on publicity and recognition. We grant him this small amount here only to join in the verdict against him that has been returned by the real leaders of his own race.

— THE EVENING SUN

— THE SUNDAY SUN

— BALTIMORE

28A — NEWS

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Date: 3/15/64

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor: STERLING NOEL

Title: MALCOLM X

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Black Nationalism

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It was an interesting coincidence that the news of Malcolm X's defection from the Black Muslim movement came the same day that the Senate began debating the civil rights bill. There is a dialectical relationship between white and black supremacy, and the longer and more bitter the fight over civil rights legislation, the more it will profit the rabid movement Malcolm X represents. Extremes in this case reinforce each other—every foolish and hate-laden word uttered in the Senate against civil rights will find its echo in equally foolish and hateful black nationalist propaganda.

Malcolm X is the younger, smoother and more plausible disciple of Elijah Muhammad—or was, until he broke with the master because he felt that Mr. Muhammad was too narrowly sectarian. Now Malcolm X asserts that he is "prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere." But it should be clear that the effect of his help may be more likely to demoralize and destroy the movement than to help it.

Black nationalists do not believe in desegregation; rather, they seek, as Malcolm X has said, "to heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society." Obviously, this objective will not be furthered by an orderly and just advancement of Negro claims against the white majority. Instead, black nationalism must grow by sowing despair and discord among Negroes.

Thus the movement stands in somewhat the same relationship to the broader civil rights campaign as did the American Communist Party to the liberal and labor causes of the 1930s. The Communists, too, were not interested in finding solutions to the social calamities of that period. They were interested in promoting tumult in order to heighten the political awareness of the proletariat and disrupt the processes of democracy in a capitalist society.

No doubt the civil rights leadership will be able to contain the black nationalist element. At the moment, the Negro separatist movement is not large, although like the Communists, it is capable of generating considerable noise. But it could grow at an alarming rate if Negroes come to feel that a promise made a century ago cannot be redeemed within the framework of democratic methods.

There is a note of menace in Malcolm X's assertion that "there can be no revolution without bloodshed." While this menace can be overstated, it is nevertheless real. It forms a cloud on the horizon as American democracy faces one of its supreme tests.

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NEGROES PONDER MALCOLM'S MOVE

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Differ Over Significance of His Political Effort

By FRED POWLEDGE

Leaders of the civil rights movement here and in the South are weighing the significance of the decision last week by Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader, to start his own Negro nationalist political movement.

Some leaders think the slender, intense former convict will capture large numbers of Negro intellectuals and working-class people. Others think his popularity will exist only in relation to the amount of space and time the white man's newspapers and television networks spend on him.

Some see Malcolm's entry into the broader field of civil rights as a prelude to a bloody summer. Malcolm, who has advised Negroes to purchase weapons for self-defense, has predicted an increase in racial violence for the coming warm months.

A similar prediction was voiced frequently a year ago by close observers of the movement. But Negro frustration was effectively channeled into such nonviolent demonstrations as the March on Washington.

Frustration Greater Now

This summer, these same sources say, the frustration is much greater and the traditional civil rights leaders have less control over their followers. "There have been no concrete victories for a long time," one observer said yesterday. "I am really scared about what Malcolm may be able to do."

Another acute observer of the movement, Bayard Rustin, believes that Malcolm's call to action may interest Negroes who formerly had shunned the Nation of Islam. Mr. Rustin, who coordinated the March on Washington last summer and other demonstrations, said in an interview:

"There are many elements in the Negro community—among the working class and among the intellectuals—who, out of the frustration of the current situation, have been deeply attracted to Malcolm's analysis but who rejected his synthesis."

"They're not interested in the separate state idea, or in the back-to-Africa thing, or in the religion," he said, listing three major aims of the Muslim movement. "But they do accept Malcolm's analysis of the evils that are being practiced on the Negro people."

Malcolm's influence will be diminished, Mr. Rustin said, by "the degree to which the established civil rights organizations are more vigorous and develop a program which quite obviously affects the man in the street."

"God knows we fight," he said. "It's just that the situation gets worse all the time. Jobs get worse; housing gets worse; education gets worse."

The Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, a leader here in the effort for equal employment opportunity, echoed Mr. Rustin's feelings. He said:

"I welcome anybody who is going to help the civil rights struggle, but I cannot condone violence. Malcolm X is a brilliant person. I have a feeling that we can work together as long as we can contain that philosophy of violence."

Position Held Ridiculous

The Rev. Robert M. Kinloch, another local leader, called Malcolm's position ridiculous. "He's still preaching the same philosophy under a new brand name," Mr. Kinloch said.

Others in the civil rights movement expressed dismay at Malcolm's proposals. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the black nationalist was proposing a race war that Negroes could not win.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was reported not willing to discuss the subject.

Mrs. Gloria Richardson, whose civil rights movement in Cambridge, Md., has been abandoned by the national groups, said of Malcolm: "I think he can be helpful. He can offer something that has not been offered before."

James Forman, executive director of the Southern-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, agreed with Mr. Rustin that Malcolm's new position might be attractive to Negroes.

Has Many Followers

"It opens up possibilities for people who certainly thought the Muslims had something to say," he declared, "but who reject the whole concept of the separate state and the religion. That cat does have a lot of followers outside of the [Muslim] temple."

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Mr. Forman, like the others who have been working over the last decade for effective integration, does not hate Malcolm X. The leaders rather view Malcolm as the brilliant spokesman for a philosophy radically different from their own—a philosophy about as radical as that voiced by Southern White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klan.

Some members of the civil rights movement predicted that a few Negro activists will use Malcolm's proposals as a means of threatening whites.

"It's the idea of using a man like this to frighten the people into giving us what we want."

one well-known leader said privately. "A lot of people are saying that we should let Malcolm scare the masses and Baldwin scare the intellectuals and Adam scare the politicians." The references were to James Baldwin, the author, and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan.

Finds Strength Artificial

Another leader, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, believes that Malcolm's strength is artificial—that it is created on paper and videotape by the press.

"I think a great deal of the visibility which Malcolm receives from the media is due to an unconscious sympathy on the part of many reporters and others with the notion of separatism," he said.

"Along comes a man like Malcolm, who says, 'I don't want to integrate your neighborhoods, or your schools, or your daughters, and I'm going to rehabilitate your black criminals and cure your dope addicts and get the people off welfare.' There are an awful lot of white people who think this is what we're looking for," he went on.

"They don't seem to be aware of the fact that Mussolini and Hitler were able to build hospitals and roads and get people to goose-step, using hate as their method," Mr. Young said.

Malcolm X Maps Campaign To Build Black Nationalism

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, whose reported split with the Muslims has headlined across the country, today told *The Militant* he will remain a Muslim minister but will also engage in independent activity to develop black nationalism as a political force and that he will actively support the civil rights struggle.

He further told *The Militant* he would become minister of a new Muslim mosque in Harlem "to have a religious base within the community and to be free of outside dictation."

Regarding the report that he was launching a "black nationalist party," he said, "I will try to establish an organizational structure whose nature yet remains to be defined."

"From the viewpoint of religion," he explained, "I remain a Muslim."

"But," he added, "my personal political, social and economic philosophy is that of black nationalism."

While he has no concrete political plans as yet, he said, "No Negro can be politically blind. It will be our intention to make all politicians — white and black — well aware that we are present." Indicating his concept of black nationalism, Malcolm X said he considered it to mean political, social and economic control by Negroes within their communities. Politically, he said, "I mean the Negro must take political control of his community.

"By economic control I mean gain control of the jobs and build-



Malcolm X

nesses of his community — not necessarily to push others out — but to make the Negro job-conscious, business-conscious.

"My social philosophy is that instead of trying to force themselves into other areas where they aren't wanted, that Negroes must act to check the ills within their own community — ills that are destroying the spiritual fiber of the community."

Affirming that he would support civil-rights actions, the dynamic Muslim minister said he had been invited to Plaquemine, La., by two rights leaders there and that he would speak in Plaquemine this spring.

"I will speak anywhere I am invited," he added. "North, South, East or West."

He said that inquiries regarding speaking engagements could be addressed to him at his home: 23-11 87th St., East Elmhurst, L.I., New York. (In an earlier statement he said he would particularly welcome campus speaking engagements.)

In explaining his future plans, Malcolm X emphasized that what he is doing does not represent a split in the Muslim movement. "There are already enough splits and divisions among Negroes," he said.

In other press statements, the widely popular Negro leader supported the right of Negroes to self-defense, affirmed the value of fighting for specific goals and scored the officialdom of the civil rights movement as ineffectual.

"I am prepared," he was reported as saying, "to cooperate in local civil-rights actions in the South and elsewhere ... every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

"Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for Negroes," he said; "and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives. But I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year..."

"I shall tell them," he continued, "that a real revolution means — the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil-rights movement in America as a revolution."

"The white power structure," he said, "is hopeful that the civil-rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise."

"Another thing: The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that Negro voters have it in their to decide next November whether Johnson should stay in the House or go back to his cotton patches."

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'NEGRO HAS RIGHT TO PROTECTION'

Malcolm X Speaks

Out

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BY MILT FREUDENHEIM
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK—Outside the Theresa Hotel in Harlem where black nationalist Malcolm X has his headquarters, heavyweight boxing champ Cassius Clay had been addressing the driver of his hired limousine.

The champion was asked, "How do you feel about Malcolm's new group and his call to Negroes to arm themselves with rifles?"

Demonstrating his new reluctance to talk at length, Clay replied affably but succinctly, "I don't know nothing about that."

At that moment on a sunny Harlem morning, Malcolm X passed by. He is the man who introduced the boxer to Elijah Muhammad's nation of Islam

and spent weeks with Clay in his Florida training camp.

CASSIUS AND Malcolm exchanged casual greetings, and Malcolm walked into the Theresa where he picked up his mail and climbed the stairs to the bare office of his new Muslim Mosque Inc., formerly a beauty shop.

He was well-dressed in a brown-black suit, white-on-white shirt and neat green tie. He placed his narrow-brimmed semibowler on the desk and explained his split with the fighter.

"I frankly don't believe," he said, "that it is conducive to his image to involve himself in any way with that which takes from his image as a sports figure."

CASSIUS CLAY has said he is remaining a follower of

the Chicago-based Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm's own position on this is ambiguous.

He says he still follows the back-to-Africa teachings of Elijah Muhammad who preaches Negro separation rather than integration. But Malcolm's new group is drawing support from Elijah Muhammad followers.

"I never did leave the nation of Islam voluntarily," he said. "Mr. Muhammad refused to reinstate me (as New York minister) because he knew if I were reinstated I would remove the local officials of Mosque 7 who were instrumental in having me removed."

He accuses these officials of sending a "special squad to

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1 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-21-64
Edition: Red Streak
Author: MILT FREUDENHEIM
Editor: JOHN STANTON

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try and kill me" in February. He says he talked the brothers of the special squad out of this idea.

Perhaps by coincidence, Malcolm says he has borrowed a friend's rifle to keep in his Elmhurst (Queens) home. He instructed his wife in how to use it "if anybody tries to come through that door, black, white, green or blue."

IT IS THIS use of rifles for "self-defense" at the doors of their homes that Malcolm

says he is urging on Southern Negroes. Negroes in Northern cities, he implies, already are armed.

A brilliant talker with a flashing smile and occasional wit, Malcolm took a card from his pocket and read Article II of the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

He said he had consulted an attorney on this. He has no intention of carrying a gun or of urging any specific neighbor or person to bear arms. "I don't believe in doing anything that is illegal," he asserted.

He has said: "When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs." But he denied advocating carrying a gun for this purpose. This would break laws, he said.

MALCOLM SAID Southern Negroes should obtain rifles for protection if "the Klan or other racists come to the home of a Negro and want to take him out."

"Instead of the other Negroes singing and praying, they

should get together and defend that Negro. If the law doesn't do it, they should."

This doctrine, he said, "actually is an indictment of the government. The country was founded like that, out West. People banded together when there was a breakdown in law enforcement. As far as Negroes are concerned, law enforcement has broken down."

As for Negroes in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, he said: "I don't have to tell Northern Negroes that, especially these Negroes in New York.

"Harlem is a jungle. The law of the jungle is survival of the fittest. You don't have to tell them what to do when it comes to protecting themselves."

BORN MALCOLM Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925, he knows about survival from the inside. His father, a Baptist minister and follower of black nationalist Marcus Garvey, moved his family to Lansing, Mich. Their house was burned down in 1931 by Ku Klux Klansmen, Malcolm says.

Later his father was found killed by a streetcar. Malcolm believed he was lynched.

One of 11 children, he was sent to a boys' institution where he made good grades but was told his ambition of becoming a lawyer was unsuitable for a Negro.

He traveled to New York in 1941 and soon became a Harlem teen-age gangster known as "Big Red" because of his height and copper skin color. Sent to prison in Concord, Mass., in 1947 for burglary, he was converted there to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and named Malcolm X.

MALCOLM'S talent for making news was shown in his suggestion that the crash of a plane load of Atlanta (Ga.) civic leaders was "divine retribution," and his remark that President John F. Kennedy's assassination was "chickens coming home to roost."

This remark, later diluted by him as being a reference to the "climate of hate," resulted in his suspension and ouster as New York leader of the Black Muslims.

Negro rights leaders in the established organizations such as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People scorn him. "He is media-created," one NAACP official said.

The official cited a recent poll that showed ~~that~~ the Negroes in America never heard of the Black Muslims. "Before (television interviewer) Mike Wallace and (writer) Louis Lomax discovered Malcolm, it was 75 per cent," he contended.

Malcolm parried this attack by suggesting that "the Rev. Martin Luther King is about the only Negro leader who could walk through Harlem and be recognized."

MALCOLM IS less than specific about his immediate plans. He addressed an overflow audience at Harvard this week, backed the New York school boycott ("I am against segregation; they are against segregation. But I am also against integration") and met with other Young Turk rebels of the Negro revolt Sunday in Chester, Pa.

This weekend he plans a "mass rally" in a Harlem hall that holds 2,000. He will pass the hat for donations. By next summer he hopes to put together "a united front for political action with every group in Harlem."

"We will unite and see that the politicians are made aware that we can remove them if they don't remove this oppressive condition, at the city level, the state level, the national level," he said.

"Integration is a pipe dream. It is impractical. It makes hypocrites out of white people. They are for it for somebody else, not themselves."

"I believe that Harlem should be a black community. The tax dollars that we are sending to Poland and Russia and Chiang Kai-shek and all those people should be directed into the Harlem community to build better schools staffed with better teachers."

HE IS URGING college student groups to "redirect their attention to the oppressed. We can't awaken the moral consciousness of America. America has lost all moral consciousness.

"Now they must direct all of their energy at awakening the dormant interest of the victim, by showing him what part politics played in all his misery," Malcolm said.

"Let the Negro know that he can keep the man in the White House in the White House, or he can send him back to his Texas cotton patch."



MALCOLM X

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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Loyal Followers Saved Malcolm From Death

Courier Exclusive

There was a recent Muslim plot to murder him in cold blood Malcolm X told The Courier this week. He said he is alive today because the "brothers" who were detailed to kill him revealed the plot to him.

"If truth wasn't stronger than falsehood, I would have been murdered in February," he said.

He added that he was saved because his erstwhile followers in Mosque No. 7 who had been sent to kill him "had heard me represent and defend Mr. Muhammad for too long for them to swallow lies."

In an exclusive interview with The Courier this week, the former Muslim minister told of the inner working of the Muslim movements leading to his suspension and eventual break with Elijah Muhammad.

Of his detractors whom he blamed for his break from his

own movement he said, "They envied me." Then he went on to name a captain and his former assistant minister as opposing him.

In his statement to The Courier in reply to the query: Why did you break with Elijah Muhammad? Malcolm X says:

"I never left the Muslim Movement on my own. Those who envied my increasing successes conspired together to force me out. After announcing to the Muslims at Mosque No. 7 that I

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submitted gracefully to my suspension. Captain Joseph teamed with the assistant minister Henry X to make it impossible for me to return.

"After I was suspended and silenced on Dec. 3, they proceeded to isolate me to keep me from explaining the diabolical situation to the other Muslims. As soon as they felt I had been sufficiently isolated, Captain Joseph then used assistant minister Henry X to spread lies from the speaker's stand that were skilfully designed to make the Muslims think I had rebelled against the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

"Realizing they were poisoning the minds of the Muslims toward me in my forced absence, I requested a hearing before the general body at Mosque No. 7 so I could defend myself against these false charges. They refused to let my case come before the general body because they knew their charges were nothing but lies that I could easily disprove if allowed to defend myself in front of any group of intelligent Muslims.

"If they had truth on their side they could easily have brought me forth and proved their case, instead of isolating me and then accusing me to the people without giving me a chance to defend myself. These two hypocritically used their positions to deceive the Muslims into thinking that I had turned into a hypocrite.

"The New York Muslims had been complaining heavily against Captain Joseph for years. The rank-and-file Muslims never knew that a confidential directive had been handed down from Chicago after Mr. Muhammad had become ill in 1961, making it impossible for ministers to remove captains. Thus, from 1961 onward captains could be removed only by the Chicago Office. Because of the increasing complaints against Joseph, I had made a "quiet" request to Chicago in early November for Joseph's removal as Captain. I was told to wait until Mr. Muhammad came to New York in December, but on Dec. 3 it was I who was suspended, silenced and eventually removed.

"Normally I would not make public any of the internal affairs of the Nation of Islam, but since Henry is still using the speaker's stand to make the Muslims in Mosque No. 7 think I'm insane, I am forced to speak out through the public media in order to clarify my own position. There is much more that could be said, but it would prove too destructive to too many innocent people. Thus, whatever else I say on this subject will be only that which I'm forced to by my two former chief aides who have now turned into "chief hypocrites."

As leader of the newly organized Muslim Mosque Inc., with headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm X said he would be addressing another meeting this Sunday at the Rockland Palace, 155 St. and Eighth Ave., at 8 P.M.

He expressed pleasure that he was pledged the support of many civil rights and black nationalist groups when he spoke at the Dawn Casino last Sunday.

FILE DESCRIPTION
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SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

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Section 2

March 22, 1964 - February 9, 1965

91 Pages

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 Belmont [REDACTED]
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Feud Within the Black Muslims

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the separatist Negro sect, faces a revolt in his ranks. His disciple, Malcolm X, leader in New York, has set up a rival "Black Nationalist" political movement.

By GERTRUDE SAMUELS

THE Nation of Islam—better known as the Black Muslim movement—is an Islamic sect, adapted by American Negroes for American Negroes, with a secret membership that could be anywhere from 50,000 to 250,000. What is preached in its temples, or mosques, is a doctrine of black supremacy (for black men are "divine"), hatred of the white man (for whites are "devils"), and complete separation of the races. The Muslims reject integration as completely as does Mississippi's Senator James Eastland. They believe that they have the answer to the masses of Negroes who live in economic despair and are groping for racial dignity.

Negro civil rights leaders who fight for integration are "Toms" and "white-man's niggers," according to the Muslims. The sect says it seeks a separate black nation in America—the nation of Islam—with its own army and flag, but it has never said how it proposes to achieve this secession nor from what part of the United States it proposes to carve its nation.

Officially, the Black Muslims preach nonviolence and honor the law. Many outsiders, however, feel that there is the threat of violence implicit in the fanatical preaching of race hatred, in the rigid discipline maintained by members, and in the secret army—the black-clad Fruit of Islam—well-drilled

and schooled in the use of firearms. But experts describe the movement's posture as one of "contained aggressiveness," largely because of the concepts of its charismatic leader, Elijah Muhammad.

ACCORDING to legend, the movement began when a "Prophet" appeared Detroit in the nineteen-thirties denouncing Christianity and the white man. Before "disappearing," he appointed Muhammad as his "Messenger" and endowed him with divine guidance. Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in 1897 at Sandersville, Ga., is the uneducated but dynamic son of a Baptist minister. The Muslims began to thrive under Muhammad about the time the civil rights movement spread in the fifties. Temples and commercial enterprises supported by Muslim money grew and flourished in various cities though headquarters were in Chicago where Muhammad sat. He and his sons—and notably his son-in-law, Raymond Sharif, Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam — were all-powerful authoritarians. Eschewing politics and the vote, keeping their strength secret, they welded a monolithic organization. They demanded and got blind and unswerving obedience to the spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad.

In the past two weeks, that solidarity has been broken by a once-trusted lieutenant. The elements of open-racial violence and of action

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in the political arena are being projected by a rival movement, "Black Nationalism." The two principal antagonists are: Minister Malcolm X, New York leader of the Muslims; and the "Messenger of Allah," Muhammad.

MALCOLM X

CERTAINLY the sect's most adept strategist, uncompromising in his contention that Negroes will never get justice from white people, has been 38-year-old Malcolm X. Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebr., he is an ex-convict who absorbed the Muslim religion while serving a seven-year sentence for larceny in Massachusetts.

Once out of prison, he shed his past life (along with his original surname, as well as an alias, "Big Red") and adopted the new last name X. This is common practice among Muslims, who adopt the symbolic X to connote the mystery of their origins.

Tall, dynamic, with rugged good looks, Malcolm rose in the sect to become the Big X—and the Messenger's ambassador to the Islamic countries of the Middle East and Africa. His flamboyant style, his biting humor and the brutal clarity of his logic—the white man is responsible for the degradation of the Negro—creates in white audiences a sense of collective guilt. At the same time, he wins admiration from Negroes, whose bitterness he can exploit.

The turnouts for Malcolm X at ~~two~~ous Negro

and white colleges, including Harvard, make civil rights leaders unhappy. And in the past few months as he began to overshadow Muhammad and the Chicago-based officials, Muslim leaders also became unhappy. Muhammad moved to silence him. His opportunity was not long in coming.

When Malcolm X told a Black Muslim rally at Manhattan Center that the assassination of President Kennedy was an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost," Muhammad rebuked him, saying, "He will not be permitted to speak in public." That, under the code, seemed to end Malcolm's career.

But after 90 days of silence, he broke the code with a public announcement on March 8 that he was leaving the Muslims to organize his own party. He told a television audience—"It's hard to make a rooster stop crowing once the sun has risen." He claims that he has only created a new mosque in New York, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. But he calls his philosophy—political, economic, social and cultural—"Black Nationalism."

OVER a glass of ginger ale the other day (he eats only one meal a day, and, like all Moslems, eschews smoking, drinking, gambling and the eating of pork), Malcolm talked of his ambitions. The three elements that distinguish his new party from the old group are: (1) personal independence that will allow him to act, speak and be seen as master of his own house; (2) "self defense units—rifle clubs—ready to "execute on the spot" those who threaten Negroes; (3) nationalist appeal to all Negroes, not just Muslims, allowing cooperation with the interracial civil rights movement.

This new program is anath-

ema to Muhammad's Muslims. Yet Malcolm X insists that he is "and always will be" a Muslim and that, so far as he is concerned, Muhammad cannot reject him because no Muslim can be rejected by the spiritual head.

"But it is time for the Negroes to defend themselves," Malcolm said. "If no one will say that, I will. If a person threatens you, by coming in the churches, bombing the churches, killing little girls, shooting little boys, then the Negroes should defend themselves, even if it means taking rifles and shotguns, and driving from our door the people who are brutalizing Negroes. The Negroes should not wait for white investigators. They should find the guilty ones themselves and execute them on the spot.

EVERY American citizen is guaranteed under the Constitution the right to bear arms in self-defense. Since he has the legal right to own a shotgun or rifle, I would advise the Negro to have one." Later, Malcolm told a press conference that Negroes "should form rifle clubs" to defend their lives and property.

"All the past actions of the demonstrations and the sit-ins and boycotts have been immature, boyish; that's why," he added contemptuously, "they call the Negroes 'boys.'" The time has come for Negroes to fight back, he said. He intends to tell the Negroes "that what has been called the Negro revolution in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year. I shall tell them what a real revolution means."

In my conversation, I asked him: "Do you expect them to initiate a Cuban or an Algerian-style revolution?"

"I say that if you follow the whole thing to its logical con-

clusion, you have to expect the Negroes to rise up sooner or later."

He still appears adamant in his concept of a separate state and separation of the races though he is prepared to flirt with the interracial civil rights organizations.

His aim, now that he is on his own, Malcolm says, "is to work with civil rights groups, if they are willing to raise the caliber of their own black communities — and not force

to see some new faces . . . more militant faces.") He expects his party to enter politics and, by educating Negroes in the mechanics of politics and the vote, "to control the politicians of our community."

"There are three times as many Negroes as Jews in this country," he added, blandly, "yet when it comes to political power, the Jews have 90 times as much power as the Negroes."

"I feel," said Malcolm X,



BODYGUARD—A member of the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim shock troops, guards Malcolm X (left, in white tie) at a meeting.

Negroes into white neighborhoods where they are not wanted. Separation — a separate state—is a good word, and it is something that you have to have to be independent and equal. At present, the black people are segregated. What we want is separation— independence."

Where?

"No desert spot," he answered. "I hope it's Florida or California, and," he added with a short laugh, "all between."

Clearly Malcolm is not revealing the specifics of his program. He may fear that this would keep away the new blood — especially college-educated youth—he expects to recruit and exploit. ("We want

"everything else has failed. I feel that all the efforts on the part of Negro groups through 1963 have met with failure. The Negroes are angry. I should say they're angrier. And I'm the angriest."

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

TO DAY, at 67, the "Messenger" is a small, thin man in bad health (suffering from asthma and bronchitis), whose delicate appearance and winning smile belie the ferocity of his speeches. He is introduced to large Muslim audiences as "the man who has seen God!"

"Get away from the white

man," he adjures the faithful, and they shout back fervently, "We will! Teach us, Messenger!"

There have been few smiles since Malcolm formed his new party. Indeed, Elijah Muhammad thundered like the wrath of Allah as he told me by telephone from his home in Chicago:

"Malcolm's plans have had no effect at all on the movement. My work is divine work, and the people believe in what I am teaching, of the resurrection from the death—the mental death—of my people. Anyone who deviates from Islam is a hypocrite."

WHEN he learned that Malcolm still spoke favorably of him and said he remained a Muslim, Muhammad said angrily: "If he spoke favorably, he has no alternative but to remain with me—if he believes in the Divine Message that Allah has given to me to deliver to my people. He would not go after other groups who have not accepted Islam.

"There is no weeping or moaning over anyone who leaves Islam, as such a man is a deviate or hypocrite, who does not want to live under the guidance of God's Messenger.

"Mere belief counts for nothing in Islam, unless carried into practice. He's preparing our people to find themselves and to fight—I heard him on television. It is very silly to say such a thing, because where are they going to get guns and arms?

"I am in favor of what I have been teaching for the past years, all over the country of America," Muhammad went on, "that we carry no arms, and we do not seek to win victory with arms. We follow what Allah has revealed—and that is, be our own selves, and do nothing to others that we would not have done unto us. That is a universal concept—because that is the best religion.

"I feel absolutely surprised at the man. He was under an indefinite suspension. He had represented himself publicly

for several years as being a Muslim and a believer in the teachings and revelations of Allah that He has given to me. Now he has turned away to go after something that he himself has been criticizing—to the civil-righters' movement."

Then Muhammad added quietly, "This particular work of reforming the so-called Negro, so he can take his place in society, cannot be done by anyone who has not got with him divine guidance. It is absolutely divine work, guided divinely. Malcolm had that as long as he was with me." The old man underscored this heavily and, it seemed, sadly. "But otherwise he does not have it. I think religious scientists and scholars know that our people will have to be completely reformed—and Malcolm's way is not the way to reform them."

* * * *

THE reaction to Malcolm's new role by-national civil-rights leaders ranges from skepticism to puzzlement and worry. Some claim indifference to the split in the Muslim movement. The Muslims, they say, were really repudiated by the Negro masses at the historic march on Washington last year, which dramatized how deeply the Negroes believe in and seek an integrated America. They have been on a decline ever since, and Malcolm's breakaway was a move of desperation, after his public rebuke, since he saw the handwriting on the wall.

Some in this group believe that Malcolm is a creature of the press, radio and television. As one spokesman put it, "They seem to get a masochistic kick out of Malcolm's giving them hell."

As for Malcolm's statements about "self-defense," they believe that he will be as unsuccessful in selling the masses of Negroes on rifle clubs and violent action as he was in selling them on a separate state.

Other Negro leaders are skeptical of a real split in the Muslims. They have known for some time that Malcolm and other young Muslim leaders were convinced that the Muslims were held back

by their aloofness from the civil-rights movement. Now they are wondering whether Malcolm has suddenly become a dedicated man or "remains a charlatan." As one expert put it, "He may be a Trojan horse proceeding under the guise and protection of Muhammad, but actually maneuvering to get into the civil-rights movement." These leaders are adopting a wait-and-see attitude. They neither condemn nor cheer the "new Malcolm," but will wait and study his program and his sponsors.

As Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., puts it: "We do not know whether he intends to help American Negro citizens in their civil rights campaign, or whether he really is serious in wooing them to some kind of a Black Nationalist separate state."

Certainly Malcolm's attempts to appeal to Christian as well as Muslim Negroes, and his attempt to make his temple all things to all black men trouble many objective outsiders. Some Chicago Muslims are in his corner. It is expected that other young Muslims in the New York and Washington temples will follow, as may the disgruntled from the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), as well as from the unorganized masses.

IT is this last, unknown quantity—the masses of Negroes who do not belong to the civil-rights movement—that concerns many thoughtful observers.

Prof. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College, author of the definitive study of the Black Muslims, says:

"There is an increasing number of Negroes who feel that nonviolence has run its course, and they are disillusioned." Only the other day, on his college campus in Atlanta, eight Negro student leaders met with an advisory group of leading white Atlanta ci-

zens. The student leaders told them that what used to be a student movement "now involves the total Negro community." And this, reflects Professor Lincoln, includes people who are not necessarily committed to the philosophy of nonviolence.

OF immense interest to observers, as Malcolm opens his drive for recruits to his political party, is its financing. He has said that he will accept money from any source, including white people who, however, can't join his group, "because when whites join an organization, they usually out-join it." There is speculation whether Malcolm will be getting at least petty cash from his most picturesque recruit to the Black Muslims, the heavyweight champion of the world, Cassius X (Clay). The 22 year-old fighter whom a Negro reporter has dubbed the Clown Prince of the movement, is constantly in Malcolm's company and expects to live on Long Island to be near Malcolm's home.

Leaders of unquestioned stature in the civil-rights movement are concerned not so much with the personality of Malcolm X as with the conditions in a community that make it possible for any opportunist to exploit and capitalize them. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, observes: "As long as you have the poverty, the poor housing, the bitter conditions that nourish the despair, there will always be people around like Malcolm X or John X or any-X."

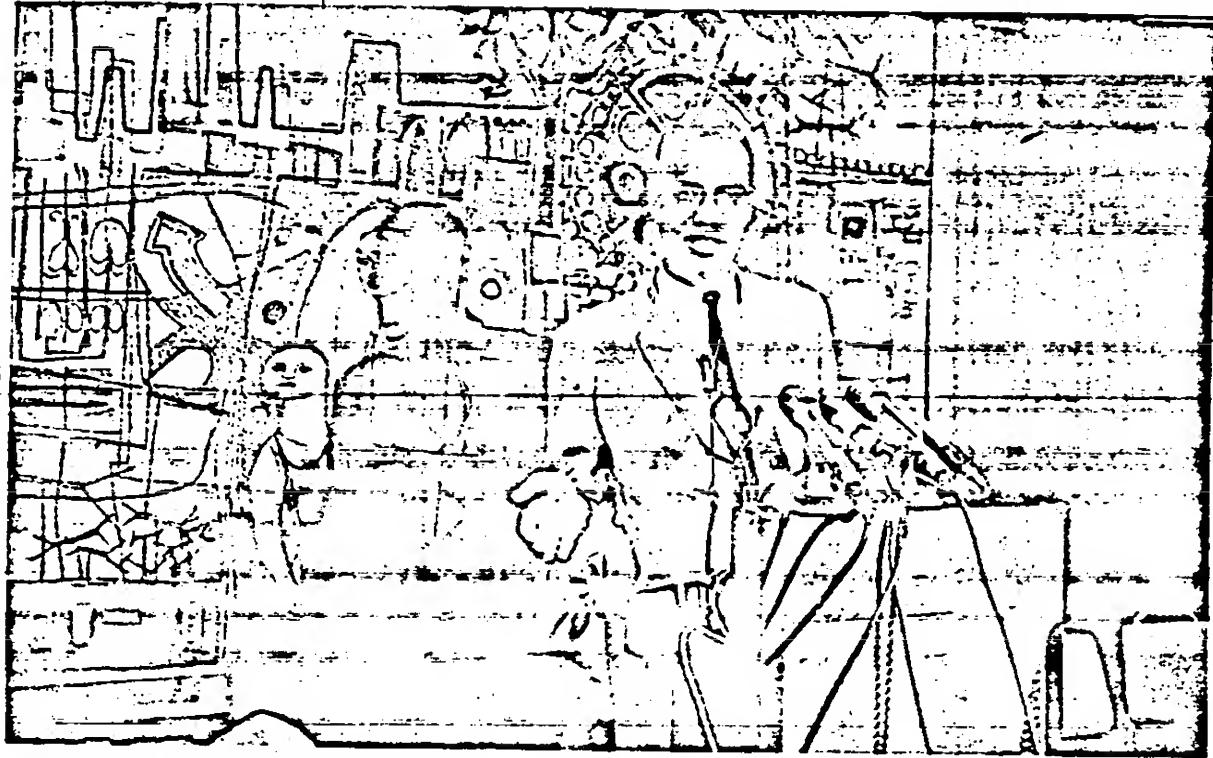
And Professor Lincoln concludes: "The fact that Malcolm X believes that a Black Nationalist party is possible or is needed is a reflection upon the distance we still have to go to make the Negro believe that the white man is sincerely interested in having the Negro participate equally in the common values of this society."

Separate State

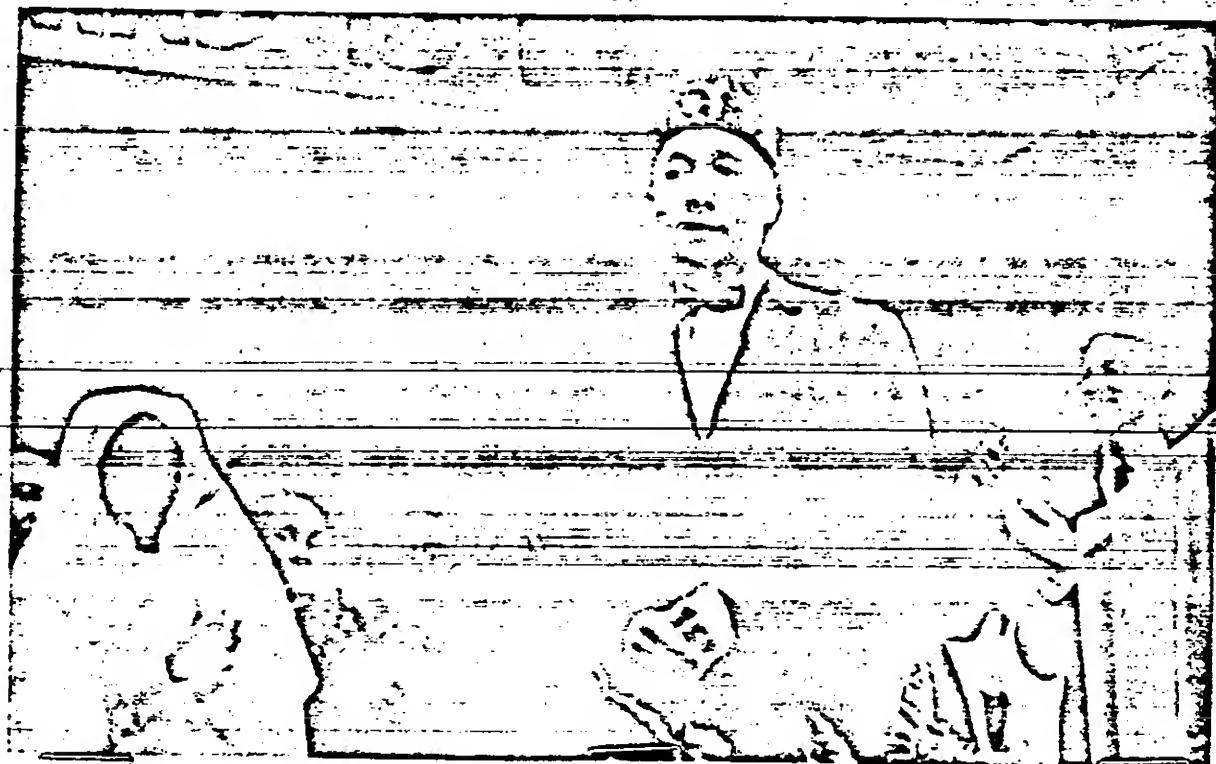
In their new book, "The Negro Revolution in America" (Simon and Schuster), William Brink and Louis Harris show, through polls of Negroes, that there is a "massive negative feeling" toward the Black Muslims. The idea that Negroes form their own separate state in the South or in Africa met with better than 21-to-1 rejection:

	Total Rank and File	Non- South	South	Leaders
	%	%	%	%
Oppose separate state	87	91	84	99
Favor separate state	4	4	3	1
Not sure	9	5	13	—

"Not only did Negroes oppose the separatist idea, but they greeted the suggestion with ridicule. . . . Fred C. Banks, a juvenile probation officer in Phoenix, Arizona, had this logical extension of the plan: 'Carry this to the nth degree and you'll send all ethnic groups to their original countries. That would leave the U.S. to the Indians.' "



RIVALS—Malcolm X, above, tells a New York audience why he has broken with Elijah Muhammed (below, at a rally).



The Paradox That Is Malcolm X: All Sharp and All Contradiction

By Dick Schaap
City Editor

The sign on the door says "Eve Nelson Cosmetics—Subsidiary of . . ." The phrase is not finished.

Inside, the green slatted blackboard is divided into long columns, each topped by the letters "CL," which stand for closing prices. There is not a single stock listed on the board.

The room, low and lean, is sparsely furnished—ragged green window shades, checked green-and-white linoleum flooring, two ancient wooden desks, a dozen rickety folding chairs and one strong permanent, non-folding chair.

Malcolm X sits in the non-folding chair. Here, on the second floor of the Hotel Theresa at 125th St. and Seventh Ave., here where Joe Louis once lived and Fidel Castro once lived and Cassius Clay now lives, here in the temporary headquarters set up by Malcolm X since he split away from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, everything—from incomplete sign to unused stockboard—exudes an air of the unreal.

"Squeak—squeak—squeak" go the marking pencils, as two college girls, their hair swept into African styles, carefully letter the cardboard signs heralding Malcolm's speech on "Black Nationalism in Harlem," which he will deliver at 8 p. m. tonight at the Rockland Palace on 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Suddenly—"Squeeeaaak—squeeeaaak"—the long lines of the X written beneath Malcolm's name.

Down the hall, a man says, "Malcolm's office? Malcolm's in Room 228."

NO 228

There is no room marked 228. Only the process of elimination leads to the cosmetics sign. The sign spreads across two glass doors, both painted black, leaking no clue to what is inside.

It is all unreal, but Malcolm X himself is the most unreal aspect.

He is, above all else, utterly charming. It is almost impossible, upon meeting him, to dislike him. Friendly, articulate, calmly outgoing, his appearance and his manner melt all the harsh words, the words of violence and life clubs, that he has spoken in the past.

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He sits in his non-folding chair, his long legs cramped under a wooden desk, and he greets his co-workers and his visitors with politeness and warmth. "Brother James, would you give our visitor a chair?"

He is impeccably dressed, a black suit covering a black cardigan sweater and a white shirt and a solid brown tie, his black shoes brightly polished, his black socks neatly pulled up. And his followers, too, dress carefully, projecting, more than anything else, a Madison Ave. image, almost a huckster image. Two of Malcolm's assistants leave their attaché cases lying around the room.

And then Malcolm is talking and work.

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ing, and this is when, instead of charming visitors, he frustrates them. He wallows in contradictions and he ducks under straight questions, jabbing back with a speech, not with a straight answer.

Violence? Violence? Malcolm is not for violence, he says.

But didn't he suggest that Negroes carry rifles? He reaches into his billfold and plucks out a small card and quotes the Constitutional amendment guaranteeing citizens the right to bear arms.

"I operate only within the law," he says. "I do not advocate violence. I advocate only each man's Constitutional right to defend himself."

And in the next minute, chatting with a reporter freshly arrived from Europe, a reporter who has covered the violent revolutions of Africa and Southeast Asia, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets.

Will there be guerrilla warfare among the Negroes in the United States?

"Of course," says Malcolm X. "There is already. You just don't see it."

Is he for it?

"I am not advocating violence."

DAVID

He slides into slick phrases to avoid taking any firm stands. He derides the civil-rights leaders who co-operate with whites and uses methods developed by whites and then, when he is asked if he isn't doing the same thing, relying on speeches and college tours and endless statements to the white press, Malcolm smiles his charming smile and says, "Didn't David use Goliath's own sword to cut off the giant's head?"

Violence? He is totally opposed to that.

Then he is saying that no white man knows what the Negro thinks, that no Negro will tell a white man what he really thinks.

In other words, then, Malcolm himself does not say to the white people what he really thinks.

"I come closer than anyone else," he says.

Again, he hides behind words. "Only the servant sees the master," he says. "The master does not see the servant. The servant sees the master sleeping. The master never sees the servant sleeping. The servant sees the master eating. The master never sees the servant eating. The servant sees the master angry. The master never sees the servant angry. The master never really sees the servant at all."

He smiles, a mixture of friendliness and mocking. "You only see the tree," he says. "You do not see the roots. If the roots were exposed to the open, they would wither and die."

Is he hiding the true roots of his own philosophy?

Only a smile.

Malcolm talks on.

He is against segregation and against



Herald Tribune—UPI

"... And the next minute, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets."

integration. He is for separation—a matter of choice.

He thinks the Supreme Court decision outlawing "separate but equal" schools was a disastrous mistake.

He says that Ralph Bunche is not a Negro and that Carl Rowan, the head of the United States Information Agency, is not a Negro.

He condemns token integration and says that Negroes who say that they were the only Negroes in their schools are neurotic "uppity" Negroes. And in the next breath he tells you that he was the only Negro in his grade school in a small town in southern Michigan, and that his was the only Negro family in town.

It is impossible to take Malcolm's words seriously—unless you are willing to accept, at various times, both sides every question. Sooner or later, he will be on both sides.

He is the sort of man who would be wonderful at a cocktail party, if his Muslim beliefs would allow him to attend, because he never lets conversation lag. But he would be less effective when there is a need for action, because at the present time his contradictions must breed confusion.

It is dangerous to dismiss Malcolm lightly. He is too eloquent, too effective in stating a situation—even though he often has no practical way out of the situation—he is ignored. The trick, a difficult one, is to try to figure out Malcolm X. It is a game that almost every thinking person in Harlem is playing these days.

EVALUATION

If you sit and listen around the bars and grills in Harlem—in Frank's and the Pal on 125th St., in Jock's and Small's and the Shalimar on Seventh Ave., you can see the clergymen and the small politicians and lawyers and the doctors trying to get Malcolm X.

No one knows the extent of his power, possibly because he has never put his power to any real test.

No politician will associate himself completely with Malcolm.

But none will completely disassociate himself, either.

They are waiting, waiting to see if Malcolm X, now that he has opened his arms to people who do not follow the strict Muslim precepts, will draw large numbers of followers.

And they debate his manner and methods.

"Malcolm X is a genius," a lawyer was saying in the back room at Jock's. "He is the most brilliant speaker I have ever heard."

"Malcolm X is a creation of the white press," said a doctor in Frank's.

"Malcolm X is a phony," said a man at the bar in the Shalimar. "All he cares about is Malcolm X—and money."

And Malcolm X sits back in his folding chair on the second floor of Hotel Theresa and smiles and watches the slow trickle of converts come through the door, matched by a trickle of white porters trying to figure him out.

And it is amusing, and strange, to note that Malcolm X, the voice of Black Nationalism, seems to expend his greatest charm and the most time on the whites, not the Negroes, who walk through his pale, blackened doors.



Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Malcolm X: "He is, above all
else, utterly charming."

(ONLY FOR PAPERS IN HASING LEWIS COLUMN. JUST NOT USE.)
(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE MONDAY, MARCH 26,
A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, March 25--The demagogic Malcolm X, Black Muslim turned Black Nationalist, has made giant strides toward leadership in the Negro civil rights movement within the last two weeks.

A fortnight ago Malcolm, number two man in the Black Muslim hierarchy, announced that he was quitting that group to form his own Black Nationalist organization. *inf 67C*

Since then, working out of temporary headquarters in New York's Hotel Theresa, Brother Malcolm (as he now prefers to be called) has seen powerful leaders come to him for assistance.

This, despite his suggestions that American Negroes form "rifle clubs" and arm for "self-defense." This despite Malcolm's advice that Negroes kill police dogs used to curb civil rights demonstrations. This despite his vicious attacks on established Negro leaders (Ralph Bunche is an "international Uncle Tom"). *b7C*

One weekend after his split with the Muslims, Malcolm was invited to Chester, Pennsylvania, for a meeting with militant Negro leaders. Malcolm received the greatest applause afforded any speaker. Negro leaders who cheered Malcolm included comedian Dick Gregory; Cambridge, Maryland's Gloria Richardson, and Chicago's Lawrence Landry. The last-named Negro heads a nationwide group called the Coordinating Council of Civil Rights organizations.

Upon his return to New York, Malcolm was wooed by Negro militants who ran a second school boycott last week. Malcolm pitched in, was on radio and television to urge his followers to keep their children home in protest against slum conditions.

A quarter million Negroes played hookey and credit went to Malcolm, a Brooklyn minister, the Rev. Milton Galamison, and Jesse Gray, dynamic leader of New York rent strikes.

Gray and Malcolm, as a matter of fact, were singled out by New York Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy as "irresponsible" leaders who, through "lust for power or other sinister motives" see the civil rights movement as a "means to a personal end or as the weapon to create chaos in our community." *100-399321-A*

Gray and Malcolm stung back, insisting that "Murphy ~~was responsible~~ 1964". Their charges were echoed by the New York State Communist Party which shot off a letter to Mayor Robert Wagner demanding that Murphy be fired. *NOT RECORDED*

Whether or not Malcolm will accept Communist support is not known. He neatly dodged one question put to him by a New York newsman, saying only that if he were imprisoned in a cage with a wolf, "I don't care who opens that door and lets me out." *100-399321-A*

Note: Malcolm has indicated he will plunge headlong into politics at "the proper moment." He has not said if he will affiliate with the all-Negro Freedom Now Party, a group formed last year by the leftist Conrad Lynn, or form a political party of his own.

(MORE)

FILE 100-399321 *Sub 67*

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY MARCH 26, 1964

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

PAGE 2

xx own.

While the Freedom Now Party has not yet run a candidate for public office, another all-Negro party has. The New Frontier Party, formed last year by dissident New Jersey Negroes, ran candidates for the State Legislature. While no New Frontier candidates won, they did draw sufficient votes from the Democrats to enable several Republicans to achieve victory.

New Frontier Party leaders, flushed from their Pyrrhic victory, will this year field a full slate of candidates in northern New Jersey. They will run candidates for the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Essex County posts of Surrogate, Sheriff and the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

* * *

The Maryland State Senate, in a virtually-unprecedented move, has blasted U.S. foreign policy as cowardly and ineffective. The Democratic-controlled body approved a Special Resolution stating its "deep concern over the foreign policies of the United States and the low ebb to which this great country has come in the esteem and affection of the rest of the world."

* * *

Nelson Rockefeller is the albatross around his brother, Winthrop's, neck. Winthrop has long been groomed as the man who can be Arkansas' first Republican governor.

But Winthrop must, of course, back his brother for President. Now comes word from Arkansas that leaders of the Republican Party in that state are shying away from Winthrop Rockefeller. Sort of guilt by association.

State GOP Chairman William L. Spicer, for instance, insists that Winthrop is trying to force his brother on State Republicans. This Winthrop denies, but there is no doubt his political sledding would be easier if his brother were not seeking the Presidency.

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(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--DISSIDENT BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY HIS NEW PROGRAM FOR NEGROES HAS AROUSED "FINE" RESPONSE ACROSS THE NATION DESPITE OPPOSITION FROM THE BLACK MUSLIM LEADERSHIP HEADED BY ELIJAH MUHAMMAD IN CHICAGO.

MALCOLM SAID HE WAS "NOT AT ALL EXCITED" BY THE CHICAGO MUSLIMS' MOST RECENT ATTACK ON HIM--A STATEMENT BY MALCOLM'S BROTHER, PHILBERT X, A MUSLIM MINISTER IN MICHIGAN. PHILBERT CHARGED THAT MALCOLM IS A FALSE PROPHET LEADING NEGROES INTO "VIOLENCE, BLOODSHED AND LOSS OF LIFE."

"THEY ARE IN SUCH A DESPERATE POSITION OUT THERE IN CHICAGO THAT THEY HAVE USED MY BLOOD BROTHER TO MAKE CHARGES AGAINST ME," MALCOLM SAID. "HE NEEDS HIS JOB AND WANTS TO KEEP IT, AND THE BEST WAY TO KEEP IT IS ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE USED."

MALCOLM BROKE WITH ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AFTER THE MUSLIM "PROPHET" CRITICIZED MALCOLM'S DEROGATORY STATEMENTS ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. MALCOLM SAID TODAY THAT ELIJAH "PUT ME OUT" AND "HAS NEVER GIVEN ME A CHANCE TO ANSWER THE CHARGES AGAINST ME BEFORE THE NATIONAL MUSLIM BODY."

"ALL OTHER MUSLIMS WHO HAVE BEEN OUSTED HAVE BEEN GIVEN A HEARING, BUT I HAVE NOT," MALCOLM SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Brother Bitterly Condemns Malcolm X

By Linn Allen

A member of his own family Thursday bitterly condemned former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X as trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Philbert XX, a minister of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam

in a four-city Michigan area and one of Malcolm's two elder brothers, delivered an unprecedented public attack at a press conference here.

He called Malcolm "cunning and clever" and said his "reckless efforts . . . will cause many of our unsuspecting

people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslims after a dispute with the movement's chief religious leader, Elijah Muhammad, recently announced he was forming his own sect.

At that time he stated:

"It is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the nonviolent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

The split in the movement occurred after Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for 90 days when he described President John F. Kennedy's assassination as "chickens coming home to roost."

Philbert, who at 41 is two years older than his brother, began:

"Ordinarily, I would not suggest the airing of differences between brothers to outsiders and especially to a news media, but because of the grave consequences of recent events, I submit to this medium."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
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Philbert X, elder brother of Malcolm X, condemns his brother's behavior. (Sun-Times Photo)

Muskegon and Flint, Mich. He said he spoke prior to the conference with his elder brother, Wilfred X, who is minister at Muhammad's Temple No. 1

in Detroit.

The conference was held at a newly opened Muslim restaurant, the Shabazz, at 616 E. 71st.



Although they are often poles apart on the civil rights issue, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (left) and former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X have a friendly greeting for each other as they meet in a Capitol corridor Thursday. They and other Negro leaders watched debate on the civil rights bill. Both Dr. King and Malcolm X agreed there would be Negro demonstrations in Washington if the debate turns into a filibuster. (AP)

"Malcolm gained great prestige as the result of his association with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and now he wants to use this prestige to lead the followers of Islam astray," Philbert claimed.

Philbert asserted his brother "would do anything" to achieve fame and to slander Muhammad out a feeling of revenge.

"Malcolm has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women," the minister continued, "and now he seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam."

He said that through women Malcolm would induce men to

leave the movement and accuse influential Muslims of misconduct.

He told reporters:

"I beseech you to warn those who may be taken in by my brother's desire to promote his own selfish end."

Philbert, who said he spoke as a messenger of Elijah Muhammad, contended his brother's defection was not seriously harming the Muslim movement.

"It is growing all the time," he said. "This is a time of crisis for the so-called American Negro."

He reiterated the Black Muslim stand that Negroes ought to band together into a separate nation.

Philbert is Muslim minister for Lansing, Grand Rapids,

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Text of Statement By Malcolm X

The following is the text of the statement made by Malcolm X in opening his press conference at New York's Park Sheraton Hotel, March 12.

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for Human Rights, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle — especially in regard to politics and non-violence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field — but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces — more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date — but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful law abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing his job.

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Date APRIL 1, 1964"Militant"

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46 APR 15 1964

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MUSLIM REBEL SPEAKS HERE

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Malcolm: Negro Awake Now!

BY STAN PUTNAM
Free Press Staff Writer

Malcolm X, the man who seeks a separate American Negro nation, predicted in Detroit Sunday that a "hot summer" is ahead, one in which one spark of violence could sweep the nation.

"The Negro is awake," Malcolm X said. "The white man must realize this. I am not trying to set the spark. I am only giving the warning."

A CHAMPION of the Negro's complete political, economic and social separation from the white race, Malcolm X addressed a rally at King Solomon Baptist Church, Fourteenth and Marquette.

He spoke as the leader of his newly formed Muslim Mosque, Inc., which also is known as the Black Nationalist Party.

His appearance in Detroit was sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), another Negro organization which contends that separation—not integration—is the answer to the Negro problem.

AT A PRESS conference at GOAL headquarters, 11805 Linwood, Malcolm X again challenged the current direction of civil rights with statements that recently put him on the front pages of the nation's press. He said:

- The Negro must stop begging for a place in the white man's sun by withdrawing to Negro communities in which he could control his own political, economic and social life.

- Negro leaders who teach the ethic of "turn-the-other-cheek" and "non-violence" are traitors to the Negro cause.

- When the Government fails to protect the Negro, he must be ready to defend himself.

- Negroes have been duped by the Democratic Party.

They have given 80 per cent of their vote only to get, in return, a debate in a Democratic-controlled Congress on whether the Negro should be given his rights.

"The first step in solving the problem between the races in this country is honest communication," he said.

"Both sides have been misleading each other. The whites don't want integration. The Negro has been telling the white man what he thinks the white man wants to hear."

MALCOLM X split about a month ago from the Black Muslim Negro movement. Before that he was No. 2 man to the Black Muslim's founder, Elijah Muhammad.

He broke from the founder because Muhammad failed to act on his own analyses of the need for Negro separation from the white man, Malcolm X said.

When he stepped out, Malcolm announced that the Black Muslim movement had "gone about as far as it can."

He accused the organization of being "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited" to assume responsibility in the racial struggle.

MALCOLM X said the Black Muslim leaders ignored his plea "to work with America's 22 million Christian Negroes" in a move "from non-violence to active self-defense."

While his followers in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., are Muslim, he claimed, "We don't allow this to interfere with cooperation with other groups seeking a solution to our political, social and economic grievances."

He said a door-to-door Negro registration campaign—like the one his group is conducting in New York—will be made in every city across the nation to get the Negro into politics.

"As independent voters," he emphasized,



Malcolm X

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Miss Gandy
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
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Miss Holmes
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The outlook of Malcolm X

THE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AUDIENCE listened respectfully as Malcolm X laid it on the line: "For 400 years we have fought your battles and all we say today is, it's pay day."

"America," he said, "is the only country in world history in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution, but the United States is not morally equipped to do so. There is no system more corrupt than this which still colonizes and enslaves 22 million blacks while it goes all over the world telling others how to straighten out their houses."

The audience of about 500 that heard him speak in New York's Palm Gardens April 8 under the auspices of the Militant Law Forum included a sprinkling of his own followers, interested you people—white and black—and an older group of white radicals whom Malcolm's point of view seemed sometimes alien, of troubling, for he rejects summarily their past and present commitment.

Already persuaded of the need for full-scale registration of Negro voters, this audience agreed with Malcolm that if this could be accomplished, then full use of the ballot in all states would wipe what he calls "this cracker government" in which ten out of Senate committees and 12 out of 20 House committees are headed by Dixiecrat chairmen ("... and you're going to tell me the South lost the war?").

But Malcolm saw the registration drive as a tactic the power structure cannot allow to work, and he defined Dixie as "all the territory south of the Canadian border" in which the northern liberal Democrat "tells us what he'll do and conspires behind back with the Southern Dixiecrat."

WHEN BLACK AMERICANS wake up to the fact they've received nothing, he said, it will be the bullets instead of ballots. "They'll forget about turning the other cheek and nonviolence at 'We Shall Overcome'." That time may be this year, he said, all when it comes the blood will flow on both sides.

"It was stones yesterday and it is Molotov cocktails today and it will be grenades tomorrow. Do not think I incite you. It is only if you face up to the seriousness of the situation that you may save yourselves. You are dealing today with a people that not only knows what it wants but knows what it should have. And there's another generation coming up that, in addition, knows how to get it."

The reverberations of a racial explosion here would be felt—and supported—all over the world by the black revolution that has been taking place since 1945, the black nationalist leader believes.

According to Malcolm, the separation of blacks from the white community of America is a fact of life and therefore, Negro Americans should enjoy "complete control over the politics and politicians of our community" rather than leave it to the white man.

The black nationalist, for whom Malcolm is perhaps the most articulate spokesman, argues from this separatist position that he is a part of a world majority rather than an American minority. His primary goal is human rights, not civil rights.

The other black nationalist arguments fall into place within this framework: The white ruling class won't permit the acquisition of human rights by black men without revolution; in such a revolution, black men must defend themselves.

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THIS SEPARATION, Malcolm made clear, explains his position on school integration also—namely, that it doesn't exist and is practical; but that doesn't mean he's a segregationist, he says. "It is not the presence or absence of black children in a classroom that determines whether a school is segregated; it is the academic diet—and that is dictated by those who control the school."

Domination of the civil rights movement by whites and by Negroes "begging for a place on a white stage" has dictated the violent character of the movement, in Malcolm's opinion. He says that no intelligent white man would fight for his own freedom the way he fights for black freedom. "Sure he'll sit in and be nonviolent and so forth, but when his own property is attacked, not nonviolent. He's only nonviolent when he's on your side."

It was his indictment of white participation in the civil rights struggle, his adamant refusal to acknowledge individual contribution to freedom or progress anywhere and his rejection of their participation in the struggle to come that disturbed his older white radical listeners.

Young people, however, seemed to accept his willingness to cooperate on tactics "with any group, white, pink, black or yellow" and delay settlement of larger questions.

—Jane McMar

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____

The Washington Daily News _____

The Evening Star _____

New York Herald Tribune _____

New York Journal-American _____

New York Mirror _____

New York Daily News _____

New York Post _____

The New York Times _____

The Worker _____

The New Leader _____

The Wall Street Journal _____

The National Observer _____

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AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM**Malcolm X Details Black Nationalist Views**

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By David Herman

NEW YORK — An audience of nearly 600 heard Malcolm X speak on "Black Revolution" at an April 8 meeting at Palm Gardens under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

He was well received by the Negroes who comprised about a quarter of the audience, and by most of the whites, as he outlined his views on Black Nationalism. (See announcement, page 1) Some white liberals, however, were visibly disturbed by his scathing indictment of the role of liberalism in the Negro struggle and his insistence on an all-black leadership for the Negro movement.

A lively point in the discussion period was a heated exchange between Malcolm X and James Wechsler, liberal editorial columnist for the New York Post. Wechsler sought to bolster the press propaganda smear that Malcolm X is a "hate-monger."

Open Minds

This charge was not substantiated for those who came to learn what Malcolm X really stands for and who listened to him with an open mind. A number of such young people later indicated that the meeting had given them a completely different conception of Black Nationalism than they had gotten from the news media.

Malcolm X, in turn, welcomed the opportunity to address the meeting and also commended *The Militant*. In his closing remarks, he said:

"I want to thank the Militant Labor Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening. I think as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best I've read. We always encourage those in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or where ever else we may see it. It's a very good paper, and I hope they continue to have success — make progress. They can probably straighten out a lot of white people. Let us straighten out the black people."

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A Rude Liberal

During the question period, he proved deaf and firm in straightening out those whites who invited it. The exchange with Wechsler, for example, began when the liberal journalist tried to take the floor without being recognized. Malcolm X firmly insisted that he be seated, observing, "you're being rude. You're proving my point" about white liberalism.

He called on several other questioners and then turned back and offered the floor to Wechsler. In a completely hostile vein, Wechsler demanded to know if Malcolm X intended to pay tribute to Rev. Bruce Klunder, the white minister who died under a bulldozer in a Cleveland civil rights demonstration.

Countering Wechsler's effort to exploit Rev. Klunder's death as a polemical point against Black Nationalism, Malcolm X replied that the time is long past when

**Malcolm X**

Negroes are going to applaud the contributions of individual whites to the Negro struggle.

"I didn't put him under the bulldozer," he declared, "Uncle Sam put him under the bulldozer. The Supreme Court put him under the bulldozer."

Wechsler sought unsuccessfully to continue the debate and apparently finished what he had to say in a column in the April 13 New York Post devoted to the meeting in which he took an exceedingly dim view of Malcolm X and the Militant Labor Forum.

New York Mirror _____

New York Daily News _____

New York Post _____

The New York Times _____

The Worker _____

The New Leader _____

The Wall Street Journal _____

The National Observer _____

People's World _____

Date April 21, 1964

"Militant"

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Likes FNP

In response to a question about the Freedom Now Party, Malcolm X answered that he didn't know too much about it, but "what I know about it I like."

During his presentation, Malcolm X denounced the Democratic party. "Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people," he said in answer to a question.

Another questioner asked him about the importance of Marxism. "I don't know too much about Karl Marx," he answered. But he indicated an understanding of the key role of economic issues with a concise explanation of the shrinking world market for American goods and its effect on the American economy.

At several points in the question period Malcolm X talked about what whites can do.

"The whites can help if they're progressive-minded," he said, "but my observation and analysis of the type of help that they've been giving makes me very cautious about the help they offer . . .

Two Standards?

"No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped you and me fight for our freedom — none of them would. When it comes to black freedom, then the white man — he freedom rides and sits-in. He's non-violent. He sings "We Shall Overcome" and all that sort of stuff. But when the property of the white man is threatened or his freedom is threatened, he's not non-violent."

"So if the whites are sincere in the struggle, they will show the black man how to use better tactics, tactics that will get results — and not results a hundred years from now.

"Our people are not going to wait ten years," he said.

"If this house is a house of freedom and justice for all — if that's what it is — then let's have it."

Toward the end of the question period an elderly white man insisted on a chance to answer Malcolm X. Given the floor, he proceeded to lecture Malcolm X on what was wrong with his views, and called him "bloodthirsty."

Malcolm X answered contrasted the attitude of the giant with that of the man of man.

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P. to the chai- conti 'He doesn't re- collect atitude. He ref- unique atude. He's qui- listening. He's taking it. He's analysing it. And w- stands up to look, he's go- speak in a much more intelli- manner than you and will more friends than you . . .

"I'm not saying this to jive him or pat him on the back. I think you know me better than that. If I say positive things about him, I mean it.

"He will probably hurt some of you saved, but you'll get most of you killed."

NEW YORK, April 13 — Malcolm X announced last night that he was leaving for Africa next week to spend three weeks there telling everyone who will listen about the condition of black men in this country and finding out how the Africans feel about the Afro-Americans.

Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge, Maryland movement shared the platform with Malcolm X and Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader.

Both Gloria Richardson and Malcolm X supported the call of Brooklyn CORE for a "stall-in" at the roads leading to the world's fair on its opening day. Both emphasized the need for individual initiative and the need for every individual to take on himself the responsibility of carrying on the struggle for freedom.

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If I say positive things about him,
I mean it.

He will probably hurt some of
you saved, but you'll get most of
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Africans Kidnapped

Malcolm X devoted the last of the current series of Sunday night rallies to telling how the civilized Africans were kidnapped, systematically de-humanized to the point where their will to resist was destroyed and then brought to this country to be slaves.

He said that any strategy used by any group that exposed the situation of the black man in this country before the world was a good strategy.

Gloria Richardson opened her remarks by saying that Brother Malcolm had added a necessary and vital spark to the struggle.

She advocated controlled self-defense as a barrier to violence. Through the tactic of controlled self-defense we may be able to avert a civil war, she said.

Independent political action as advocated by Malcolm X and the Freedom Now Party was the second line of self-defense, she said.

Jesse Gray spoke briefly, emphasizing the need to raise concrete demands when carrying out any protest action.

The next rally will be held in about four weeks when Malcolm X returns from Africa.

DETROIT, April 13 — Malcolm X drew repeated rounds of applause from an appreciative audience of nearly 2,000 Negroes here last night. He spoke at a rally sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) at the King Solomon Baptist Church.

He warned that the Negro people must make a revolution if they were to win their freedom now. He explained that there had been no bloodless revolutions previously, but suggested that America could heed the demands of the Negroes in 1964 and have a bloodless revolution for the first time.

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Date **April 23, 1964**

"Militant"

Best Copy Available

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Malcolm X Pleased By Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. ANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new, positive insights on race relations.

He said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the Holy City of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had ~~felt no racial~~ antagonism toward whites nor had he sensed any antagonism on their part against him.

The letter from Mecca, dated April 25, described how he had arrived at his new insights on race relations while on a pilgrimage.

'All Colors and Ranks'

"There are Muslims of all colors and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of this earth," he wrote.

"During the past seven days of this Holy Pilgrimage, while undergoing the rituals of the Hajj [pilgrimage], I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God—not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, Cabinet members, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers—but also with fellow-Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blond—yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their

faces and see that these didn't regard themselves as 'white.'

"Their belief in the Oneness of God (Allah) had actually removed the 'white' from their minds, which automatically changed their attitude and behavior toward people of other colors. Their belief in the Oneness of God has actually made them so different from American whites, their outer physical characteristics played no part at all in my mind during all my close associations with them."

Before leaving for the Middle East, Malcolm had said that he would lead his newly formed black nationalist organization ~~in~~ the forefront of the civil rights struggle this summer.

Sought Broader Action

Malcolm recently withdrew from the Black Muslim Movement founded and led by Elijah Muhammad of Chicago because he felt its religious sectarianism had limited its scope of action.

Malcolm's new movement does not require membership in the Black Muslim faith. It is open to Negro Christians and Black Jews, as well as to non-believers.

Malcolm's letter said he hoped to visit Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, and Algeria before returning to New York by May 20.

He described some of his reactions to Mecca this way: "I have never before witnessed such sincere hospitality and the practise of true brotherhood as I have seen and experienced during this pilgrimage here in Arabia.

"In fact, what I have seen and experienced on this pilgrimage has forced me to 're-arrange' much of my own thought-pattern, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions."

In describing the people on the pilgrimage, he wrote: "Their sincere submission to the Oneness of God, and their true acceptance of all nonwhites as equals makes the so-called 'whites' also acceptable as equals into the brotherhood of Islam with the 'nonwhites'. Color ceases to be a determining factor of a man's worth or value once he becomes a Muslim. I hope I am making this part very clear, because it is now very clear to me.

"If white Americans would accept the religion of Islam, if they would accept the Oneness

of God (Allah), then they could also sincerely accept the Oneness of Man, and they would cease to measure others always in terms of their 'differences in color'."

At another point he wrote: "The American Negro should never be blamed for racial 'animosities,' because his are only reactions, or defense mechanisms which his subconscious intelligence has forced him to erect against the conscious racism practiced . . . by American whites.

"But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path, nearer and nearer to the precipice that leads to the bottomless pits below, I do believe that whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered intellect, will see the 'handwriting on the wall' and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them."

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Malcolm X To Debate Louis Lomax

Negro supremacist Malcolm X will debate with Negro author Louis Lomax here May 23 on "Which Way Goes the Negro—Integration or Separation."

The debate, described as a "no holds barred" affair, will be held at 8:30 p.m. in the Civic Opera House. Reserved tickets are from \$2.50 to \$4.

Malcolm X, who recently broke with the Black Muslim leadership, is an advocate of Negro-white separation. Lomax, author of "Come Up America" and "The Negro Revolt," is an advocate of non-violent action.

Irv Kupcinet, Sun-Times columnist, will serve as moderator.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
82 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-13-64

Edition: RED STREAK

Author:

Editor: JOHN STANTON

Title: Malcolm X, aka

Character: 100-33593
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Islamic Leader Has a Stake in Sincerity

Man Who 'Tamed'

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Malcolm Is Hopeful

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr.
 Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—The man who takes the credit for "taming" Malcolm X and converting him to "true Islam" is Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, director of an Egyptian national who directs the Islamic Center here.

Dr. Shawarbi said Malcolm X came to him to learn about "real Islam." After Dr. Shawarbi was convinced that Malcolm was sincere he urged him

to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Malcolm, a publicly declared ex-Black Muslim and now ex-racist, also said that Dr. Shawarbi was "instrumental" in "helping me to understand true Islam, a religion that teaches brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins." His views, included in a letter telling of his experiences on the pilgrimage, were distributed to news media under the name of Malcolm's

new organization, "The Muslim Mosque, Inc."

Complete Turnabout

This new position by Malcolm is a complete turnaround for the former Black Muslim minister who was briefly assigned to Washington. He was silenced by Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, for mocking President Kennedy's assassination. He broke away completely March 8 to form his own group.

Dr. Shawarbi indicated

there was opposition to his tutelage of Malcolm X from other Arab Muslims here in New York. Most of the criticism stemmed from fears that Malcolm is not sincere and may use the religion and pilgrimage as a device to improve his public image for his own purposes.

Questions Answered

Against this background, Dr. Shawarbi has a stake in Malcolm's sincerity.

What caused Malcolm, who



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The Washington Post
MALCOLM X
 ... returning from Mecca

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was once too outspoken even for the Black Muslims, to turn away from his extreme brand of racism?

These questions were answered by Dr. Shawarbi during a four-hour interview in his third floor office in the gray stone building that houses the Islamic Center at 1 Riverside dr.

Dr. Shawarbi, 43, is a native of Cairo and still is on the staff of Cairo University, his alma mater. He said he also holds degrees from the universities of Wales and London.

"Malcolm first came here in March," said Dr. Shawarbi in a mixed Egyptian and British accent. "I never met him before but I had heard quite a bit about him."

'Wanted to Learn'

"He told me he wanted to learn about the 'real Islam.' He said he was already a Muslim but felt there was more to it. First, I had to persuade him to give up his racist ideas. I pointed out that sometimes Arabs themselves feel they are somehow special Muslims because the Prophet Muhammad was Arab. But he warned us we will be judged by our deeds and not by our race."

Dr. Shawarbi said he and Malcolm met several times during the six weeks preceding Malcolm's trip to Mecca. Malcolm is in Africa now, expected to return to this country Wednesday.

"I have no doubt of his sincerity. During our many meetings I could not help but be impressed by his desire to learn about Islam. Sometimes he would even cry while passages of the Holy Koran were being read," Dr. Shawarbi said.

Given Royal Treatment

After he was fully convinced that Malcolm was converted, Dr. Shawarbi urged him to make the trip to Mecca. While there, Malcolm wrote that he was the guest of Crown Prince Faisal because of introductions of Dr. Shawarbi.

Malcolm was greeted by the Saudi Deputy Chief of Protocol and was given a car and driver guide to accompany him during his visit. "It was an honor that in America would be bestowed upon a King—not a Negro," Malcolm wrote.

Dr. Shawarbi appeared confident that Malcolm would abandon his call for Negroes to arm themselves and form rifle clubs. He also predicted Malcolm's political organization will grow because whites may join.

Setting a Good Example

"If he admits all people to his political movement—irrespective of color or religion—and he goes about things quietly and Islamically, I assure you it will be a very big movement."

"In this way he will be serving his whole country, his own group and his new religion and setting a good example of a true Muslim for the American people."

The interview ended when Brother James 67X, an aide of Malcolm's, came in to leave a sheaf of press releases that included a recent letter from

Malcolm sent from Lagos, Nigeria.

In this latest letter, Malcolm said he is warmly received in Africa "as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims. Africans in general, and Muslims in particular, love militancy."

'Long-lost Brothers'

The letter said Malcolm hoped his pilgrimage would "officially" link his organization with "750,000,000 Muslims of the World of Islam."

He said in Africa, American Negroes are considered to be "long-lost brothers of Africa." The letter ended:

"Despite western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love you, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long 'sleep' and are developing a strong love for them."

Mailing Room

A few miles away is Malcolm's headquarters on the second floor of the Theresa Hotel at 125th st. and 7th ave. Right now it is little more than a mailing room. Boxes of press releases line the walls. On a table are a few Saudi Arabian English newspapers and information brochures.

Across the hall, Muhammed Ali, who is world heavyweight boxing champion, is Cassius Clay, is planning to set up his own office. Clay would not say what effect Malcolm's breakaway from the Black Muslims would have on the movement.

"Anybody can go to Mecca," he said. "We may have lost one star but we'll get another five times as bright. Malcolm—he's still my brother—was just nationally known. I'm famous all over the world, Clay said."

Most civil rights observers here are adopting a wait and see attitude. Some predict that Clay may try to assume Malcolm's old position in the Black Muslims. Others feel that Malcolm will be just as militant when he returns this week.

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(MALCOLM X)
 NEW YORK--CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER JAMES FARMER SAID TODAY HE BELIEVES MALCOLM X, THE FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER, HAS BEEN CONVERTED FROM BLACK NATIONALISM TO INTEGRATION DURING HIS VISIT TO MECCA.
 FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SAID HE BASED HIS BELIEF ON A POSTCARD HE RECEIVED FROM MALCOLM X, WHO IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO THIS COUNTRY FRIDAY OR SATURDAY.

ACCORDING TO FARMER, THE CARD SAID:

"GREETINGS FROM ARABIA."

"I'VE JUST VISITED THE HOLY CITY OF MECCA WHERE I'VE SEEN THOUSANDS OF THOUSANDS OF PILGRIMS OF ALL COLORS WORSHIPING TOGETHER IN PERFECT PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD. IT IS A SIGHT SUCH AS I'VE NEVER SEEN IN AMERICA. IT WAS WONDERFUL TO BEHOLD."

MALCOLM X BROKE FROM THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND ORGANIZED THE BLACK NATIONALISTS. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS BELIEVE IN BLACK SUPERIORITY AND REJECT THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT.

"IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE FROM JUST ONE POSTCARD," FARMER ADMITTED. BUT HE ADDED "I THINK THAT MALCOLM X WILL JOIN THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT WHEN HE GETS BACK."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Arrest of Malcolm X Ordered

NEW YORK, May 20 (UPI)—A traffic court judge yesterday ordered the arrest of black nationalist Malcolm X when he failed to appear for trial on a speeding violation.

Judge Kenneth Phipps signed the arrest order for the defendant after waiting more than two hours for him to appear. Malcolm X, who recently formed his own group following a rift with the Black Muslim movement, had been given a ticket March 6 on a charge of speeding on the Triboro Bridge.

The black nationalist left New York last month on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His wife said today that she expected his return in two or three days.

The defendant, charged with doing 50 miles per hour, 10 miles over the bridge speed limit, had pleaded innocent and his trial was set for today in traffic court.

A court clerk intoned the name "Malcolm X, Little" four times over a two and one-half hour period, but no one responded. Judge Phipps then signed the arrest order.

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Malcolm X and Black Nationalism

EDITORIAL

Since his break with the Black Muslim movement, Malcolm X has continued to focus his fiery speeches on the need for more militancy in the black liberation struggle. The change in his remarks, if any, has been to emphasize still more the anti-government--the revolutionary--aspect of his position, and to begin to talk in terms of a political, more than religious, drive for black power.

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One of the key ingredients in Malcolm's call for an surge of black nationalism is the inevitable triumph of the Negro masses. He effectively derides the eternal-rule attitude of the white ruling class and the fatalism of many Negro leaders who accept the white man's notion of the white man's majority forever overwhelming the black minority.

Malcolm links the U.S. Negro to the growing world movement of colored peoples against U.S. colonialism. He says, "In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see the fear in their conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the mas-

COMMENT

ses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually over-run the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood.... You think you outnumber the racial minority in this country; you don't outnumber us all over the earth."

The commercial white press singled out Malcolm's remarks on armed self-defense for special coverage. When Malcolm calls for black rifle clubs, the press howls with hysterical headlines designed to fan the flames of hatred of "rednecks," north and south, and to terrify southern "moderates" and northern liberals.

In an effort to frighten Negroes away from Malcolm's call for a Black Nationalist Party, the press warns demagogically that "only violence will result" from Malcolm's militancy (as if everything has been nice and peaceful for the past hundred years!). The white ruling circles have let their press run wild with plea after plea from "established" Negro leaders for "non-violence" and "respon-

bility."

Despite all the sensationalism and one-sided reporting, Malcolm's call for self-defense is only a part of his program, and it is not so new. Robert Williams established a rifle club and self-defense techniques in Monroe, N.C., quietly and successfully defending the Negro community there against Ku Klux Klan attacks (until the combined assault from southern racists and the FBI succeeded in driving Williams to exile in Cuba).

Birmingham Negroes, too, fed up with the slow pace and no-pace of progress and beginning to recognize the collusion of the federal government with the Dixiecrats, resorted to armed defense to protect their lives and homes. Recent demonstrations in Maryland and Nashville, Tenn., have also seen Negroes fight back--although in a limited way--against police terror.

The press is obviously trying to create an hysterical reaction to Malcolm's words in an effort to frighten the black masses and stop the growth of the self-defense trend. But the headlines may boomerang as more black men and women learn about Malcolm's call to stand up and fight.

Especially significant in Malcolm's arsenal is his often clear estimate of the federal government and its alliance with the Dixiecrats. Referring to the control that the Dixiecrats hold over Congress and the White House, he says, "In fact, when you see how many of the committeemen are from the south, you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D.C. And their head is a cracker President."

On nationalism, he says: "My philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black national-

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ism, my social philosophy is black nationalism... to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and politicians of our own community.... We should gain complete economic control over the economy of our community, the businesses and other things that create employment, so that we can provide employment for our own people, instead of having to picket and boycott and beg other people for a job."

These words, while militant, nonetheless raise as many questions as they answer: Who does Malcolm mean when he says "We should gain complete economic control?" And what kind of economic system does Malcolm propose to control? Would he simply substitute black bosses for white--or does he propose that power be put in the hands of black workers? Or doesn't he distinguish between black workers and black bosses? In his criticisms of those who "picket and boycott and beg...for a job," does Malcolm reject pickets and boycotts as tactics? In the months ahead, he will have to answer these questions, among others, if he is to win active mass support.

But Malcolm's grasp of the role of the federal government stands in sharp contrast to other Negro leaders who still preach reliance on the "cracker" in Washington, and the hope that somehow the federal government will be pushed into making important concessions. Malcolm's call for black political power, although vague, is in contrast to those integrationists who see ending oppression within the confines of the white man's capitalist economy.

However, Malcolm is not the only black leader to put forward this new attitude in recent months. Many Negro

leaders are coming to grips with the failure of the integration movement to win anything from the federal government except platitudes and jail sentences. Many are coming to see that the so-called civil rights bill, bogged down in a filibuster, is actually a giant fraud, both in what it says (or doesn't say) and in the way it's being used as a political football.

This new approach is reflected by the forces around Gloria Richardson in Cambridge, Md., Stanley Branche and the Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa., Lawrence Landry in Chicago, the "ad hockers" in San Francisco (see last month's PL), and the Brooklyn CORE rebels and Rev. Milton Calamison in New York. While these forces are not all the same and the leaders are not all of equal ability or consistency, they share many of the above-mentioned attitudes, as does Malcolm X.

The unification of all such forces around a clear program would be a big blow against the ruling class, and an uplift to the entire black freedom movement. The recent formation in Washington of an organization called ACT, under the chairmanship of Landry and with the participation of most of the above-mentioned forces as well as some SNCC leaders, could be a big step in the direction of that unity.

In this regard, Malcolm X's position is not clear. How for example, will he reconcile the desire and ability of the Negro masses to act now with his perspectives for self-determination? Can he reconcile his opposition to integration with his verbal support for militant integrationists and his participation in ACT?

Malcolm's statement that he will be the black man's Billy Graham seems to put him at odds with some form of mass action to secure the black revolution of which he speaks. Surely Malcolm himself doesn't believe independent black power, political or economic, can be preached into being.

At this point, Malcolm's main pitch is towards the ballot. He says the only way to avoid a violent revolution is by the ballot: "Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro... were given what the Constitution says he's supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all the racists and segregationists out of office.... It would wipe out the southern segregationists that now control America's foreign policy as well as America's domestic policy.... The black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 States. But if the black man doesn't

get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

(Perhaps it is the smell of the ballot that has brought Adam Clayton Powell to the edges of Malcolm's activities. Or perhaps it is Powell's assignment from the power structure to use his demagogic to guarantee that the nationalist movement becomes nothing more than an appendage to the electoral system.)

In the final analysis, Malcolm's policies will be tested by deeds and by the ability of black nationalism to attract large numbers of Negro workers, a feat so far unachieved by the integration movement, or by existing nationalist groups.

To accomplish this, Malcolm will have to develop and explain his identification with the world-wide anti-imperialist front, a large part of which has transcended nationalism and adopted internationalism and the class outlook that goes with it. Moreover, he, together with others, will have to demonstrate the concrete advantages of black nationalism at home and organize masses of black workers to fight the white rulers (this implies a certain amount of differentiation between white rulers and white masses)--the only kind of fight which will lead to freedom.

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(MALCOLM X)
CHICAGO--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY NEGROES
HAVE REACHED "A POINT OF NO RETURN" IN RELATIONS WITH WHITES AND
"IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE" THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN WIDESPREAD RACIAL
VIOLENCE.

MALCOLM X TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THAT NEGROES WILL TURN TO VIOLENCE WHEN A "POINT OF NO RETURN" IS REACHED. HE SAID THEY HAVE ALREADY REACHED THAT POINT.

"WHITE PEOPLE ARE BEING MIGHTY NAIVE IF THEY THINK BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE," HE SAID. "IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE THAT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE HAS NOT BROKEN OUT."

HE SAID MORE AMERICAN NEGROES WOULD MOVE TO AFRICA IF THEY KNEW WHAT CONDITIONS WERE LIKE ON THAT CONTINENT. HE SAID HE WAS WARMLY RECEIVED ON A FIVE-WEEK TOUR OF GHANA, NIGERIA AND OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS.

"IF THERE WERE A LARGER NUMBER OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHO HAD THE
CORRECT PICTURE OF AFRICA, THERE WOULD BE MANY MORE GOING BACK," HE
SAID. "IF THEY SAW THE INTEREST BY AMERICAN WHITES IN AFRICA, THEY
WOULD WANT TO GO BACK."

MALCOLM X QUOTED SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS, D-ILL., AS SAYING AFRICANS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE STRUGGLES OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

"THE SENATOR HAS BEEN VERY MUCH MISINFORMED, VERY MUCH MISTAKEN ON THIS PARTICULAR POINT," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Malcolm X Suggests Putting Negro Problem To The UN

By Ronald G. Berquist

Malcolm X, who calls himself a minister of Islam, offered Saturday night a new series of solutions for racial problems in the United States.

During a debate in the Opera House with Negro author Louis Lomax, Malcolm had these suggestions:

1 Problems of racial tension in the country should be taken before the United Nations.

2 American Negroes should consider Pan-Africanism and strengthen their cultural and philosophical ties with the African continent.

3 The American Negro should be prepared to abandon the "leaking boat" of his current state.

A Separate State?

Whether this last item means a separate state for the Negro as Malcolm X once advocated while still with the Black Muslims' Elijah Muhammad was unexplained.

However, earlier in the debate, moderated by Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet, he disavowed any such thing.

Putting it in a still vaguer reference, he said:

"We do not want integration nor do we want separation. The program should be designed to preserve our human rights."

I'm Not A Racist

Before leaving Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X sided with his superior's racist view.

Moving in the direction of moderation, Malcolm X told

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some 2,000 persons at the debate:

"I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of one race. I'm not a racist and I do not subscribe to the tenets of racism."

An International View

He said that the problem of the American Negro should be taken out of the realm of civil rights and placed in the international sphere.

By that he meant associating the aspirations of the American Negro with other minority groups of the world.

"Our people look beyond

national boundaries," he said. "In the context of the world, we are in the majority and not in the minority."

No Clear-Cut Way

Malcolm X appeared to offer no clear-cut means by

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—CHICAGO SUNDAY
SUN-TIMES
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Editor: RONALD G. BERQUI
Title: JOHN G. TREZEVANT

MALCOLM X.

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During debate at Opera House, Malcolm X (left) speaks as Louis Lomax (right) listens. Moderating the expression of views is Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet (center). (Sun-Times Photo)

problems, have anything more concrete in this respect.

From that point of view, the debate was a draw.

'Bound Together'—Lomax

Lomax, however, made these points:

"The American Negro and the white man are bound together in the American experience. Separation would destroy each. There is no other alternative for any of us but to live together."

"However, the white man in America has done wrong for so long, he now believes it is right to do wrong."

"But I'm not going to separate from the white man. I'm going to engage him and I'm going to win."

which the American Negro can assert and preserve his human rights.

Nor did Lomax, a former professor of philosophy at Georgia State University and the author of books on racial

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NEGROES: TAKE PLIGHT TO U. N. —MALCOLM X

Malcolm X, former No. 2 Black Muslim leader, proposed here last night that the American Negro place his plight before the United Nations. He made his proposal in a debate with Louis E. Lomax, former assistant professor of philosophy at Georgia State university, in the Civic Opera house.

Malcolm X, who was expelled from the Black Muslim sect for extremist statements, recently returned from a five-week visit to Africa and the middle east. He said he had been assured that African nations that are members of the U. N. would support the American Negroes' cause.

Malcolm urged action this year to avoid what he said would become guerrilla warfare similar to that in Laos and Viet Nam.

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Mr. Rosen	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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5 CHICAGO SUNDAY
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MALCOLM X SPEAKS:

'Guerrilla Warfare Is Necessity'

By CLARENCE HUNTER

Star Staff Writer

Malcolm X sat in a Harlem restaurant, and spooned up a banana split as he talked about reciprocal dying, guerrilla fighting, revolution and his new Pan African organization.

Malcolm, the former chief spokesman for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, a black supremacist sect, said he has discarded the unyielding "hate white" philosophy of that group.

His conversation, however, indicated that he still regards the white man as the Negroes' No. 1 enemy and that his future course will be to fight that enemy with every ounce of his energy.

"I reserve the right to do whatever, wherever, whenever and however is necessary to get results," he said. He was not smiling.

No "metamorphosis" resulted from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm said. He remains inflamed over the American Negro's condition and thinks only a revolution will correct it.

Freedom for Negroes

"Take a duck, for example," Malcolm said. "Ducks can't lay chicken eggs unless a revolutionary change makes it possible for them to do it. When you have a political system which is not capable of producing freedom for Negroes because it was founded to produce freedom for whites, then you must change it and you don't change it by getting on your knees and singing 'We Shall Overcome' for 100 years."

His political group, separate from his exclusively-black Muslim Mosque, Inc., so that it can attract other black peoples as well as American Negroes, will not advocate, nor will it initiate violence, Malcolm promised.

"The last thing the Negro wants to do is violence, but he must protect himself," Malcolm said. "When you start talking freedom, you have to talk about dying a little, too. Reciprocal dying, I mean. When a black man dies, a white man should die. Suffering is all right and non-violence is all right, too, as long as they are reciprocal."

Malcolm insisted that Negroes should form vigilante committees, Mau Mau, anything to protect themselves. "He said 'people aren't using much fore-



MALCOLM X

link the American Negro's cause with the independence drives of African nations.

Take Fight Before U. N.

"You have never heard of a Negro organization with the word fighter in it, have you?" Malcolm asked. "The first aim of the AAFF will be to lay the groundwork to get the American Negro's case before the United Nations to make it an international issue. I want to take the whole Negro struggle to the Human Rights Commission of the U. N. and charge the United States with the same thing as South Africa and Portugal are charged with there."

Forces like the Algerian Freedom Fighters and the Mau Mau "were people trying to throw off the yoke of colonialism . . . and this is the task facing the American Negro," Malcolm said.

Malcolm, who became a Black See MALCOLM X, Page A8

sight if they don't see guerrilla warfare as the next step in the civil rights struggle." There are evidences of this in Cambridge, Md., "where Negroes shot a Negro National Guardsman," Malcolm said.

Devil and Double Devil

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm was known to view all whites as "devils." Now after a 12-day visit to the world of Islam, he said he is convinced that "blacks and whites" can solve their problems amiably if they approach them in a spirit of "brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins."

As a result of this tempering, he still speaks of devils, but in this fashion:

"Anyone . . . mind you, I am saying anyone . . . who overtly, intentionally, and knowingly deprives another man of his human right is a devil. I said anyone who does this is a devil. And, if he consciously, knowingly and intentionally deprives the man of knowledge that will enable him to correct his condition, he is a double devil. And this devil has to go."

The Afro-American Freedom Fighters, Malcolm's new political group, is envisioned by him as the vehicle which will exterminate the "devil" that haunts him. It also is the organization Malcolm hopes will

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MALCOLM X

Negroes Urged to Serve As 'Freedom Fighters'

Continued From Page A-1
Muslim while he was in prison in 1948, said he has no idea how many followers he will attract to his mosque or Freedom Fighter organization, both headquartered in Harlem.

Having just returned from Algiers, he said he must work to create an organization that will follow the tenets of Islam in "the best way we can in a Western and highly mechanized society."

Sees Mosque Prospering

Malcolm is confident his mosque will prosper. He will attract converts as well as defectors from the Black Muslims, he predicted.

"Many are leaving the Black Muslim movement, especially the militant and young ones who have gone out because of the lack of activity," Malcolm said. "When I entered the Nation of Islam in 1952 in Detroit, there were not over 400 active

Muslims following Mr. Muhammed and he had 10 mosques. By 1962 . . . now, I don't want to sound like I'm bragging . . . no one could count the number of his followers."

Claiming "there's no way of telling" how many followers he has now, Malcolm said: "I've gotten calls for help in organizing Muslims in other cities—Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and Los Angeles."

He said he wasn't worried about financial support. "We are scratching," is the way he described his money situation. "I don't have any expensive habits. I never have met a true revolutionary who worried about money."

The desire and willingness to cooperate with other civil rights organizations, Malcolm said, is the major difference between his present group and his Black Muslim affiliation.

"In the Black Muslims I belonged to an organization which stressed moral reformation but never took part in politics, the civil rights struggle or the Negro revolt," he recalled. "Now in our Muslim Mosque, we will keep religion in the mosque because we don't want to involve it directly in the struggle. Through our Freedom Fighters, we will work with any organization in any way desirable to attack the political, economic or social evils that affect Negroes."

Pan African Movement

The traditional rights groups such as the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE shunned Malcolm X when he was a Black Muslim. He expects them to change this posture now. This is one reason he will work hard to create a strong Pan African movement. No Negro leader

could afford to ignore such a group, he said.

The Freedom Fighters, Malcolm emphasized, won't encourage the physical return of Negroes to Africa.

"We will work for a psychological, cultural and social migration to Africa," he said. "The Jews in America have benefited from such a migration to Israel, which automatically enhanced their prestige right here in America. If the Negro in this country was to become involved in a similar way, the common bond that would exist between the African and us would automatically put us in a stronger political, economic and social position in this country."

As Malcolm talked and answered questions for about two hours in the 22 Restaurant on 135th street between Fifth and Lenox avenues, about 10 men, apparently his followers, entered and sat in various booths. He greeted each as "brother" with a smile, a quick handshake or a slight nod of his head. Malcolm sported a closely cropped beard he grew while traveling abroad.

Why He Left Black Muslims

Why did he leave the Black Muslims?

Carefully avoiding any derogatory remarks about Mr. Muhammed, Malcolm explained that he was "forced out" of the group by a combination of things that included his personal disillusionment with the enforcement of the sect's moral code.

"As long as I thought the Black Muslims represented moral reformation, I represented them. When I saw differently I left them," said Malcolm, who celebrated his 39th birthday while visiting in Algeria on May 19. He, his wife and three children live in Queens, not far from the New York World's Fair.

The fact that he had been told that the Black Muslim nation "was not teaching orthodox Islam, and that we had strayed 100 per cent from the path" whetted Malcolm's appetite for understanding "Islam as it really was," Malcolm said.

Quest of Prince Faisal

He contacted Mahmoud Yousuf Shawarbi, deputy director of the Islamic Center of New York and director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

Mr. Shawarbi, he said, opened his eyes to brotherhood and tolerance between persons of different races. He gave him a letter of introduction which opened many doors for him during his pilgrimage, Malcolm said.

While in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Malcolm said, he was a state guest of Prince Faisal, who supplied him with transportation and a religious guide. He visited Mecca and Medina at will, wearing the native clothing and performing all the requirements of the religion.

On the way home, Malcolm visited Beirut, Cairo, Nigeria and Ghana. His speeches, especially in Ghana and Nigeria, attacked America's racial ills. He said he sought the aid of the Africans to get America's racial problems before the United Nations.

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Cops Arrest Malcolm

X Men

Threatening Harlem

MUSLIMS

Armed with two rifles, six followers of Malcolm X drove up to the Harlem Mosque of the rival Black Muslims last night.

About 35 Black Muslims confronted the gunmen, but police arrived in time to prevent bloodshed.

The six, arrested for violating the weapons law, were described as former Black Muslims who switched to the Negro nationalist movement formed by Malcolm X after he left the Muslim fold.

Malcolm was leader of the Harlem Mosque until Elijah Muhammad, national head of the Black Muslims, suspended him last December for remarks he made about the assassination of President Kennedy.

Informed sources said the real reason for the suspension was a personal feud between the two leaders.

Subsequently, the New York mosque began eviction proceedings to oust Malcolm from the home it had given him at 25-11 97th St., East Elmhurst. But Malcolm refused to move.

Charges Threat

At a hearing on the eviction case this week, Malcolm charged the Black Muslims were out to kill him.

Last night, police said, six of his followers tried to phone him but received no answer. Fearing something had happened to him, they armed themselves with the rifles and drove to his Queen's house. There, Malcolm assured them he was in no trouble.

The six then drove to Muslim Mosque No. 7—also called Muhammad Temple or Islam—at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. As

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1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM
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they got out of their car, 35 loaded his carbine with a clip of 30 shells. Someone called Muslims poured from the mosque and its ground-floor restaurant.

Improvised Weapons

The Muslims armed themselves with sticks, rocks and other improvised weapons. One of Malcolm's men, identified by police as William George, 35, of 115 W. 118th St.,

As a sergeant and two patrolmen arrived in a radio car, the six men jumped in their auto and started to drive away. Other police converged on the scene and captured them. In addition to the weapons charge, George was booked for felonious assault.

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Malcolm X, 'Angriest Muslim,' Changes Mind

By BRYCE B. MILLER.

Until a few months ago Malcolm X, known as the "angriest Black Muslim" of them all, went about the country preaching the cult's message of "hate-all-whites" and complete segregation—of a separate black state somewhere in the United States.

For 12 years he was chief lieutenant for Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult, and its chief spokesman. He whipped audiences of Negroes to a fever pitch against "white devils" and the Christians he claimed gave him his light coffee color by raping his grandmother.

"I rejoice when a white man dies," he would say, his face contorted with hate.

Quotes Axiom

On President Kennedy's assassination he described himself as a farmboy "who had always believed in chickens coming home to roost."

It was shortly after that statement that Malcolm X was expelled from the Muslims, although he claims the real reason was a "moral crisis" that he could not live with.

But what has gone generally unnoticed is that this forceful and eloquent man has done a complete about-face on the question of separation of the races and is now preaching to his fellow Negroes a message of "brotherhood" with the whites.

It still is a militant and even violent message. But the hate-all-whites doctrine that once marked his every word is no longer there.

In an interview he explained why he has rejected the teachings of Muhammad and is now preaching co-existence with whites to his followers.

Admits About-Face

"I have done a complete about-face and I'm man enough to admit it... even if it makes me look ridiculous in the eyes of the world," Malcolm X said yesterday.

The only reason some people might think my about-face is ridiculous is my inability to bring to the eye of the public the main ingredient—it is of such a nature that it can't be brought into public before it is brought into court.

"There was a moral crisis involved.

"When I lost my confidence in Muhammad as a person, I began to re-examine his philosophy, perhaps objectively for the first time, and his doctrine—his entire organization and behavior pattern.

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**3 NEW YORK WORLD
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Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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Malcolm X Gets Guard

NEW YORK, July 4 (UPI)—Police were keeping the home of black nationalist leader Malcolm X under surveillance today after a reported attempt on his life.

Malcolm X told police two members of the Black Muslims tried to attack him near his home in Queens last night.

Malcolm X had been the New York leader of the Black Muslim movement until his split with Elijah Muhammad several months ago.

There have been a number of incidents between the two groups in recent weeks that have resulted in the arrests of several persons, police said.

Malcolm X said two men "came out of nowhere" when he left his home last night to move his car. He said they tried to force their way into the car, but he locked the doors and quickly drove off.

He said he drove around the block and back to the house, ran in and grabbed a rifle.

"I have weapons I would use without hesitation," he said. "But I would hate to use them against Muslim brothers who are just dupes of Elijah Muhammad."

Elijah Muhammad preaches separation of the races. Malcolm X, after a visit to the Moslem holy city of Mecca, made an about-face on the racial issue and now preaches that Negroes and whites should cooperate.

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The New Leader _____

The Wall Street Journal _____

The National Observer _____

People's World _____

Date _____

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~~"He teaches hate and offers something that is unobtainable. I believe the black man needs something more. I try to show my followers how they can get something more."~~

Rejects Separation

"We don't believe in any of Muhammad's philosophy of separation. We believe the Afro-American should have his full part in the entire American experience," he continued.

Only a few months ago, on March 17, 1964, a young Negro writer from South Africa, Lewis Nkosi, wrote for the London Observer:

"Malcolm X is the only black man in America whose face I have watched turn radiant with hate against the white people."

Malcolm X still hates. But his hate has shifted from the entire white race to the "white racists."

He made it clear that his followers are being taught only to hate "oppression, segregation and injustice which some white people practice."

'Not All Bad'

"We realize that all white people are not bad," he said.

"Elijah Muhammad taught that the whole white race was a race of devils. When I went to the holy city of Mecca (earlier this year) I found white men walking arm and arm with black men. I wrote back to that effect and it infuriated Muhammad. He was in a rage."

When Malcolm X left the Black Muslims, many followed him into ~~what he~~

called the Black Nationalist Movement. It weakened Muhammad's position and authority.

Last Sunday, while Elijah Muhammad was speaking in Harlem, Malcolm X held an organizational meeting of a new group to be called the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Another meeting will be held this Sunday to announce the objectives of the organization. It is designed as a "grass-roots" movement drawing its membership from all strata of America's 22-million Negroes.

A Replacement

The OAAU will replace the Black Nationalist Movement. Malcolm X has been named its chairman.

~~"When I formed the Black Nationalists, I said at that time we would encourage students across the country to undertake a new analysis of the problem and come up with a solution or organizational structure that would enable us to work on the problem,"~~ Malcolm X said.

~~"We formed a brain trust of intellectuals, celebrities~~

and students—sat down for four weeks almost in secret and discussed this thing. All the ingredients ended up... by forming the OAAU which is political, economical and social.

"For the Afro-American to control his own destiny, he must control the decisions that affect his destiny."

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Mrs. Gandy

Malcolm X Warns Police Of Tactics, Says Harlem Negroes Are Armed

CAIRO, Egypt (UPI) — Black nationalist leader Malcolm X declared here last week that Negroes in New York's Harlem district are the best armed Negroes in the world, and warned that there could be a racial explosion unless the police change their tactics in dealing with them.

Malcolm X, attending the summit conference of African leaders here, advocated recently that Negroes, in the South in particular, arm themselves against attacks by racists.

Commenting on news of the Harlem riots, Malcolm X indirectly blamed the scare tactics, used by the police, on Commissioner Michael Murphy. He said:

"I am surprised that the trouble has been contained to the degree it has. Until two years ago, New York City used wiser methods than any other city to deal with

racial problems.

"But under police Commissioner Murphy, for some reason, tactics have changed. Now it is a case of outright scare tactics. This won't work because the Negro is not afraid. If the tactics are not changed, this could escalate into something very, very serious."

Alluding to Negroes being armed, Malcolm X said:

"There are probably more armed Negroes in Harlem than in any spot on earth. If the people who are armed got involved in this, you can bet they'll really have something on their hands."

After drawing a 90-day suspension for ridiculing the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X left the Black Muslim organization headed by "The Honorable" Elijah Muhammad a few months ago to found his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., group.

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INSIDE LABOR

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Malcolm X, Calling For Violence,
Meets with Communists in Cairo
By Victor Riesel

Cairo, United Arab Republic: -- Malcolm X, whom the Chinese Communists call the "Chairman of the Afro-American Unity Organization," spent a considerable amount of his time in the presence of international Communist propagandists here.

Not only did he endorse the rioting back home, but he publicly called for retaliation against the white community. He said the time had come to meet "violence with violence; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

He prepared a series of inflammatory anti-U.S. documents here on the pretext of presenting them to the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and it was reported across the world that he attended the conference. This is nonsense. He did not get near the parley. He was not accredited to it.

Streets were roped off. Hotels which the heads of states and foreign ministers occupied were cleared of all but official guests. Only those with special blue cards and lapel badges, which were changed daily, were able to get anywhere near the conference area. All but the short formal opening session were executive meetings.

I was at that session. I talked later with several heads of state--many of them old friends whom I had helped in the U.S. when they were in exile. They are now amongst America's best friends in Africa.

Malcolm X was not at any of the conference sessions. I was informed that it "is ridiculous" and "undignified" to think for a moment that anyone such as Malcolm X would be heard by the African counterpart of the Organization of American States.

Malcolm X's activity here was strictly a propaganda operation which he set up at the Hotel Semiramis, where some newsmen gathered. He made certain that his violent anti-U.S. diatribes were put in the hands of the Chinese Communist correspondents planted here by the New China News Agency.

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But when Malcolm X wanted to be with his pro-Communist friends he came over to the Hotel Omar Khayam (on Zamalik, an island in the middle of Cairo), a former palace. I vouch for this personally. I was there when he met Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late Dr. W. E. DuBois, in the lobby. When the aged Dr. DuBois died recently, he was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and had switched his citizenship to Ghana.

The Hotel Omar Khayam was also the headquarters of the violently anti-U.S., pro-Communist Ghanaian delegation to the African States' conference. On Thursday, July 16 Malcolm X and his frequent companion, Mrs. DuBois, met for hours in the garden restaurant of the hotel.

Mrs. DuBois and her late husband, one of the most active of Negro Communist leaders in the U.S., spent much time in Peking. They were frequent guests of Mao Tse-tung himself. Dr. DuBois delivered many anti-U.S. speeches which were broadcast across the world by the powerful Chinese mainland radio.

Mrs. DuBois has long been active in world Communist circles. Her background is important here to show the strange inter-weaving of characters now attempting to infiltrate and agitate the Negro communities of the U.S.

Mrs. DuBois knew the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raoul, in Mexico as far back as the late forties. She now is associated with the pro-communist "Freedomways," a publication allegedly devoted to the Negroes.

In the past few years she has been a prolific writer in defense of the pro-Communist dictatorial state of Ghana.

She even praised the appointment of a convicted British spy as the head of the dept. of physics at the comparatively new University of Ghana. The spy, who served a long prison term in England, is Dr. Alan Nunn May, once a member of the most secret British atomic research agency.

--MORE--

Intelligence agent of several countries now are eager to learn just how Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X made contact with such Communist activists as Mrs. DuBois. Of considerable interest is the source of Malcolm X's funds now that the Muslims under Elijah Muhammad have declared war on him.

Malcolm X has been making expensive and extensive trips across Africa. I ran into his trail in several cities--especially in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered speeches so anti-U.S., so incendiary, that they could be printed only on asbestos.

It is also being noticed that the Chinese Communist broadcasts have been featuring him and his splinter sect.

Why?

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Malcolm X
 Organization of Afro-American
 Unity

SET up this year, the Organization of Afro-American Unity is a local organization headed by Malcolm X, former Eastern representative of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims . . . Malcolm, 38, is a resident of Flushing, Queens . . . When Malcolm broke with Mr. Muhammad, he organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Theresa Hotel . . . On this following he set up the Afro-American organization as a broadly based nondenominational movement . . . Malcolm seeks to recruit Negro intellectuals and professionals who cannot accept Islam but favor separation of the races in the United States as a solution to the problems of race relations . . . In recent visit to Cairo, Malcolm circulated an appeal to delegates of 34 African nations asking them to raise the issue of prejudice against the Negroes in the United States before the United Nations . . . In that message, he asserted the "right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors."

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b7c Malcolm X in Cairo Urges African Aid to U. S. Negroes

[On July 17, Malcolm X, militant U.S. black nationalist leader, addressed the conference of the Organization of African Unity, under whose auspices 33 heads of independent African states met in Cairo, United Arab Republic. He urged the African nations to take the plight of black Americans to the UN. The following are excerpts from his speech to the conference.]

We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and, like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

We were taken forcibly in chains from this mother continent and have now spent over 300 years in America, suffering the most inhuman forms of physical and psychological tortures imaginable.

During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high-pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

And, all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American governmental authorities, the police, themselves, for no reason than that we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America . . .

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times



Malcolm X

when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And, if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

Many of you have been led to believe that the much publicized, recently passed Civil Rights Bill is a sign that America is making a sincere effort to correct the injustices we have suffered there. This propaganda maneuver is part of her deceit and trickery to keep the African Nations from condemning her racist practices before the United Nations, as you are now doing as regards the same practices of South Africa.

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High Court Decision

The United States Supreme Court passed a law ten years ago making America's segregated school system illegal. But the Federal Government has yet to enforce this law even in the North. If the Federal Government cannot enforce the law of the highest court in the land, when it comes to nothing but equal rights to education for Afro-Americans, how can anyone be so naive as to think all the additional laws brought into being by the Civil Rights Bill will be enforced?

Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning-the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are . . .

In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights . . .

"No one knows the master better than his servant." We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "Uncle Sam." Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, "friendly" American dollarism.

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"The Militant"

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(MALCOLM X)
 CHICAGO--MALCOLM X WAS QUOTED TODAY AS SAYING "THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT WILL CRUMBLE BECAUSE THE ORGANIZATION IS HELD TOGETHER BY COERCION, BY A GESTAPO-TYPE POLICE FORCE WITHIN ITS OWN RANKS."

MALCOLM X, A FORMER LEADER IN THE BLACK MUSLIM ORGANIZATION, SAID IT IS NOT TRUE, AS HAS BEEN REPORTED, THAT HE WAS QUOTED FROM IT BECAUSE OF DISPARAGING REMARKS ABOUT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION.

"THE REAL REASON," HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF EBONY MAGAZINE, "WAS JEALOUSY OF MY GROWING INFLUENCE AND MY OBJECTIONS TO A BREAKDOWN OF MORALITY."

MALCOLM X SAID THE ORGANIZATION HE FORMED AFTER HIS SEVERENCE WITH THE "BLACK" MUSLIMS IS NOT OPEN TO CAUCASIANS.

"IF JOHN BROWN WERE STILL ALIVE," HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WE MIGHT ACCEPT HIM."

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Malcolm X Sees End of Muslims

CHICAGO, Aug. 29 (AP). — Malcolm X predicts the Black Muslim organization, to which he once belonged, will crumble.

"The organization is held together by coercion, by a Gestapo-type police force within its own ranks," he is quoted as saying in the September issue of Ebony, a Negro monthly magazine.

Malcolm X quit the Black Muslims after differences with sect leader Elijah Muhammad and formed his own Black Nationalist movement.

The magazine says he has mellowed to the point where he no longer hates all whites, although he still doesn't want them in his group.

By the same token, Malcolm says he has no use for non-violent Negroes. "If you show me a non-violent Negro, I'll show you a Negro whose reflexes don't work, one who needs psychiatric care," he stated.

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Judge Tells Y Malcolm Home Isn't Xactly His

If Malcolm X, militant Negro nationalist, doesn't come home soon from his racial politicking in Egypt, he won't find any home to return to.

Queens Civil Court Judge Maurice Wahl yesterday ordered him to give up the six-room \$16,200 home at 23-11 97th St., Elmhurst, which he has held since late 1959.

Rules It Muslim Property

Wahl's decision was given on evidence taken at a trial June 16-17 in which the Black Muslims of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, Inc., sought Malcolm's eviction. Judge Wahl held that the property clearly belonged to the temple, which had bought it as a residence or parsonage for Malcolm, as East Coast Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm lost his right to remain the judge ruled, when he left the Muslims and formed a new cult.

What Caused the Split

Malcolm—legal name Malcolm X Little—parted with the Muslims after Elijah Muhammad, leader of the movement, suspended him last December because of a speech in which termed the assassination of President Kennedy a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Judge Wahl stayed execution of his ruling until Jan. 31 to give Malcolm time to find a new home for his wife and four children.

Percy Sutton, Malcolm's attorney, announced he would appeal.

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Around the Nation:

Malcolm X-pelled

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, the erstwhile leader of the Black Muslim sect, must vacate his \$16,000 parsonage in Queens, a civil court judge ruled.

The court found that the house had been purchased by the Temple of Islam Inc. as a parsonage before Malcolm X was ousted as Black Muslim leader, and that the house rightfully belongs to the organization.

Attorneys for Malcolm X, currently in Egypt, said they would appeal.

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Malcolm X Hits Both Goldwater And Johnson

Malcolm X, the militant black nationalist leader, has publicly declared that he will not vote for either Goldwater or Johnson in the coming presidential election.

This statement, along with other views on the current election campaign, appears in a lengthy article, entitled "I'm Talking to You, White Man," in the Sept. 13 Saturday Evening Post. The article consists of excerpts from The Autobiography of Malcolm X by Alex Haley and Malcolm X which is soon to be released by Doubleday & Co.

"Johnson and Goldwater," Malcolm X writes, "I feel that as far as the American black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. 'Conservatism' is only meaning 'Let's keep the niggers in their place,' and 'Liberalism' is meaning 'Let's keep the niggers in their place, but tell them we'll treat them a little better. Let's fool them more, with more promises.' Since these are the choices, the black man in America, I think, only needs to pick which one he chooses to be eaten by, because they both will eat him."

Goldwater, Malcolm writes, "isn't another liberal just trying to please both racists and integrationists, smiling at one, and whispering to the other. Goldwater flatly tells the black man he's not for the black man." After comparing the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, Malcolm concludes: "I wouldn't put myself in the position of voting for either one, or of recommending to any black man to do so."



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"The Militant"
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MALCOLM REJECTS RACIST DOCTRINE

Also Denounces Elijah as a
Religious 'Faker'

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By W.S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of black racism and denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm said he had embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in [Elijah Muhammad] even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad, who advocates black separatism, earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam—ranking scholars of Islam—and working with the Muslim World League.

A 'Strait-Jacket World'

In his letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudo religious philosophy that he preaches. But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason.

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did. If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of True Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

All Men Brothers

Malcolm continued:
"I declare em 'I declare emphatically that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait jacket' and I don't intend to replace it with one woven by someone else. I am a Muslim in the most orthodox sense; my religion is Islam as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the Holy City of Mecca."

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind. I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist philosophy, which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he was neither anti-American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man who was trying to weigh everything objectively.

Vows Belief in Allah

He said he was "fed up with strait-jacket societies."

"I respect every man's right to believe whatever his intelligence leads him to believe is intellectually sound," Malcolm said, "and I respect my right to believe likewise."

After reaffirming his belief in Allah as the Supreme Being and in the Prophet Mohammed, Malcolm said, "yet some of my dearest friends are Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, agnostics, and even atheists—some are capitalists, Socialists, and Communists—some are moderates, conservatives, extremists—some are even Uncle Toms." "It takes all these religious, political, economic, psychological and racial ingredients," he said, "to make the Human Family and the Human Society complete."

Turning to the racial situation in the United States, Malcolm said, "no one has to stir up the Negroes," and that the "sociological dynamite" stemming from unemployment, bad housing and inferior education existed in American society."

Asks 'Meaningful Actions'

"It takes no one to set it off . . . Putting the blame on me and other militants will never decrease nor stop these racial explosions today. Nothing will stop [them] but real meaningful actions, sincerely motivated by a deep sense of humanism and moral responsibility to remove once and for all the very basic causes that produce the 'materials' for these explosive conditions.

"We must forget politics and propaganda and approach this as a Human Problem which all of us as human beings are obligated to correct. The well meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also go equal responsibilities."

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'I Want To Undo My Wrongs' — Malcolm X

The New York Times

NEW YORK — Malcolm X has repudiated the philosophy of racism and has denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm X said he has embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic

zeal now believe in him (Muhammad) even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

The erstwhile national spokesman of the Black Muslim movement broke with Elijah Muhammad earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian Nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam and working with the Muslim World League.

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"But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason."

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"If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of true Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

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someone else. I am a Muslim in the most orthodox sense; my religion is Islam as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the holy city of Mecca.

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind.

"I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist-philosophy which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else, for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelistic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he is not anti-American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man trying to weigh everything objectively.



MALCOLM X

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MALCOLM CLAIMS NEW MUSLIM ROLE

Reports World League Has
Authorized Center Here

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a friend here, in a letter sent from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that the World Muslim League has designated him an official representative in the United States, with authority to open a Muslim Center in New York. Malcolm, former national spokesman of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, broke earlier this year with Elijah Muhammad, the head of the movement. He said he had renounced racism in any form, and denounced Elijah Muhammad as a religious "faker."

In his letter of Sept. 23 announcing his designation by the World Muslim League, Malcolm said the Secretary General of the supreme religious body in the Muslim world had promised to send him authorized teachers and to provide 15 scholarships for study at the Islamic University in Medina, Saudi Arabia.

Malcolm reported that he had worked all summer and into the fall at the headquarters of the World Muslim League to prepare himself for his new role as a Muslim evangelist in the United States.

Certified by Document
 A document dated Sept. 9, a photocopy of which was received here, certified Malcolm as a true member of the Muslim faith. Among other things, the document, signed by the Rector of Al-Azhar, stipulated that "it is his [Malcolm's] duty to propagate Islam and offer every available assistance and facilities to those who wish conversion to Islam."

The World Muslim League is not the same as the Arab League, a political organization of Arab states. The World Muslim League, Malcolm wrote, was founded in Mecca, May 18, 1962, and is governed by a constituent council of 23 grand imams, the leading religious teachers in the Muslim world.

The Secretary General with whom Malcolm is working was identified as Sheik Muhammad Sarur Al-Sabban. Malcolm described him in the following terms:

"He is a tall, thin, ebony black man. He was formerly a slave, who rose to become the minister of finance, and is reputed to be still the richest and most powerful figure in Saudi Arabia today. His allegiance to the royal family is unquestioned, although many very responsible Arabs refer to him as the 'real king of the Hejaz [Saudi Arabia].'"

Malcolm said the World Muslim League's function was to "coordinate all other organizations and produce a greater degree of cooperation and working unity in the Muslim world."

He wrote that he intended to return to the United States after the Nov. 3 election. He said he felt it was a mistake for the Negroes to become identified with the Democratic or Republican party.

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UPI-24

(MALCOLM X)

DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANGANYIKA--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST MALCOLM X SAID YESTERDAY HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE NOV. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. "IF ANYTHING HAPPENS, THEY'LL BLAME ME," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

Malcolm X Will Distribute 55 Scholarships



Malcolm X

Malcolm X, whose recent activities in Africa were instrumental in getting the Organization of African Unity to pass a resolution condemning racism in the United States, announced that he has received a number of scholarships from African and Arab countries which will enable young Afro-Americans to go abroad to study — expense-free.

Twenty scholarships were made available by the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs at the University of Al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt, where Malcolm X has been guest of state for several months. Fifteen scholarships were granted to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia.

The scholarships are to be distributed to Afro-Americans between the ages of 16 and 30. Distribution will be nation-wide. For further information write: Malcolm X Scholarships, 2090 Seventh Ave., Suite 128, New York 27, N.Y. Letters must be received by Nov. 15.

According to an Oct. 11, New York Times account, Malcolm X plans to return to the U.S. after the Nov. 3 elections. He also reiterated his earlier position on the presidential campaign that it was a mistake for Negroes to become identified with either the Democratic or Republican parties.

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(MALCOLM X)
 NEW YORK--NEGRO LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CONGOLESE MOISE TSHOMBE SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SHOOTING OF WHITE HOSTAGES BY CONGOLESE REBELS IN STANLEYVILLE.
 "WHEN LYNDON B. JOHNSON BEGAN TO FINANCE TSHOMBE'S MERCENARIES, IT WAS ONLY NATURAL TO EXPECT SUCH A DISASTROUS UNDERTAKING TO PRODUCE THE DISASTROUS RESULTS THAT CAME ABOUT TODAY," HE SAID.
 "TSHOMBE IS A MURDERER, AND AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TAKE SIDES WITH A MURDERER, THIS MUST BE EXPECTED," HE ADDED SHORTLY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL FROM AN 18-WEEK TOUR OF AFRICA AND EUROPE.
 MALCOLM X, WHO CHANGES HIS NAME TO MALIK AL SHABAZZ WHEN HE BECAME CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, WAS LOUDLY CHEERED BY ABOUT 30 SUPPORTERS AT KENNEDY AIRPORT.

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MALCOLM SPEAKS

ACCRA—Malcolm X, Afro-American leader visiting in Ghana said in an interview with Hsinhua (New China News Agency) that China's successful explosion of its first atom bomb was "the greatest thing that has happened to the black people in the twentieth century." He praised the Chinese Government's proposal for a world summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons as "a very good suggestion."

Referring to the present freedom fight of Afro-Americans and the firm support given to this struggle by the Chinese people, Malcolm X said that the U.S. imperialists would never loosen their grip on the 22 million Afro-Americans before the people of Asia and Africa cast off the yoke of imperialism. "Bearing this in mind," he said, "we appreciate the great strides that the Chinese people have made towards true independence and the unlimited contribution they are making to help the oppressed peoples in other parts of the world throw off the chains of imperialism."

Malcolm X, commenting on the recent U.S. presidential election, said that the only difference between the two candidates was that while one "would use the method of a wolf," the other "employs the approach of a fox." "Both are trying to eat us up," he concluded.

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(MALCOLM X)

OXFORD, ENGLAND--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM CHIEF MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT HE BELIEVED STRONGLY IN EXTREMISM IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

HE SAID ONLY WHEN THE NEGRO TAKES UNCOMPROMISING STEPS TO BRING ABOUT HIS FREEDOM WILL HE WIN THE RESPECT OF WHITES.

"THERE WILL BE MORE WHITES THAN ON THE SIDE OF THE NEGRO THAN THERE ARE NOW WITH THIS WISHY-WASHY 'LOVE THINE ENEMY' APPROACH THEY (THE NEGROES) HAVE BEEN USING," HE SAID.

MALCOLM SPOKE AT AN OXFORD UNION SOCIETY DEBATE.
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Boston Minister

Tells of

Malcolm—
Muhammad's

Biggest Hypocrite

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

It is hinted, according to the *New York Times* newspaper (Sunday, Nov. 8, 1964; pg. 48, column one) that Malcolm is returning to the States. We, therefore, would like to ask the questions:

IS Malcolm bold enough to return and face the music—since he



Minister Louis

MEMBER OF NATION OF ISLAM

ordered the notes to be played — after bowing out and leaving the musician with untrained dancers? Would he like to face Mr. Muhammad? Would he like to face his deceived lieutenant, James (the former James 67X), who recently held a meeting to deliver a message from his chief? His meeting consisted of approximately 100 people, only 23 of whom were originals.

At this meeting, Malcolm's lieutenant denied what he said represented

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The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date 12-4-64
"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
Page 11.

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Saved—By Messenger's Guidance



EDITOR'S NOTE: Thousands of shocked black Americans have become deeply resentful of the shameful attempts by defector and hypocrite Malcolm to slander and destroy the great Islamic leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who lifted him from obscurity and placed him in a position of national prominence and trust. The vicious slanders of this particular defector, while doomed to failure, have caused concern not only among the ranks of Muslims, but among many fair-minded non-Muslims.

The divinely-guided mission of Mr. Muhammad, however, has exposed the envy, jealousy and emptiness of this defector, which has disgraced not only himself but all those who have associated with him.

The following objective article from Minister Louis of Boston is printed in response to demands for a definitive statement on the acts of this particular character, who has resorted to becoming an international hobo, without home or followers. It is a lesson on how a slanderer and hypocrite becomes the victim of the traps he attempts to set for others.

his own opinions, but that he was speaking as authorized by Malcolm.

GAINING HIS guidance directly from the Messenger of Allah, (center) rather than from defectors, world heavyweight champion, Muhammad Ali (r.) and his brother, Rahman Ali (l.) have moved steadily towards unprecedented success in their fields, with

the respect of admirers around the world, in sharp contrast to attempts by once-Minister Malcolm to defame and destroy his former teacher. Here the champion and his brother take a lesson from the Holy Qu'ran from Mr. Muhammad.

12-4-64
"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
Page 11.

Would Malcolm like to face such a weak lieutenant who has bowed out as a true brother and officer of his master? Would he like to meet the brothers whom he lead into trouble before fleeing the city?

"HOW THE GAME IS BEING PLAYED"

Malcolm constantly asks, through mail to various hypocrites and weak believers of Messenger Mu-

hammad, how the game has been played. It has been played to the dissatisfaction of you, Mr. Malcolm Little. You are now the target of the dissatisfaction of both your own followers (which are very few) and the followers of Muhammad.

"MALCOLM LIKE THE REBEL, KORAH"

Malcolm is like the famous rebel, Korah, in the times of Moses. Korah thought he was playing the game well, claiming to be an aid to Moses, but turned out to be Moses' deadliest hypocrite. Korah was successful in getting a few to follow him, but Allah caused an earthquake to open its mouth and they all were dropped to their death into

a crevice of the earth. This proves that Allah had chosen Moses and not Korah.

Another parable depicting Malcolm is that of Judas, who tried to deceive Jesus into believing he was one of his best followers and treasurers. He could get the money from the people, but when Jesus spoke of using the money in a way that Judas did not like, he went out and joined the enemies to trap Jesus. Judas' trapping was successful, but not without the knowledge of Jesus, who knew it from the beginning.

Judas had hugged and kissed Jesus many times, as was the custom of the disciples and Jesus. So has Malcolm hugged and kissed Muhammad many times in the

public, and Muhammad had hugged and kissed Malcolm, though Muhammad knew Malcolm's hypocrisy. He kept reminding a certain group of laborers of the intentions of Malcolm with the wisdom given to Muhammad by Allah, Who made Muhammad a genius in maneuvering an affair wisely to bring a strong opponent to his knees.

"MALCOLM REPEATS MOSEILMA'S WORK"

Messenger Muhammad is like Muhammad of nearly 1,400 years ago, (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), who had a rebel by the name of Moseilma. I shall name characters

(Continued on page 12)

Life of Muhammad The Prophet Like That of Messenger Muhammad of Today

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"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
Page 11 & 12

(Continued from page 11)

mentioned by some of the writers on Muhammad's life, especially those identified by Washington Irving in his book on the history of Muhammad and his Successors (chap. 2, page 15).

Speaking of the false prophet Moseilma, who, encouraged by the impunity with which, during the illness of Mahomet (Muhammad), he had been suffered to propagate his doctrines, had increased greatly the number of his proselytes and adherents, and held a kind of regal and sacerdotal sway over the important city and fertile province of Yamama, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia.

"MOSEILMA AND SEDJAH"

There is quite a flavor of romance in the story of this impostor. Among those dazzled by his celebrity and charmed by him was Sedjah, wife of Abu Cahdla, a poetess of the tribe of Tamim, distinguished among the Arabs for her personal and mental charms. She came to see Moseilma in the manner of the Queen of Sheba who came to witness the wisdom and grandeur of King Solomon. They were inspired

with a mutual passion at the first interview, and passed most of their time together in closer, if not religious, intercourse.

Sedjah became a convert to the faith of her lover, and caught from him the imaginary gift of prophecy. He appears to have caught, in exchange, the gift of poetry, for certain amatory effusions, addressed by him to his beautiful visitant, are still preserved by an Arabian historian and breathes all the warmth of the Song of Solomon.

"MOSEILMA, KILLED BY ETHIOPIAN, WACKSA"

This dream of poetry and prophecy was interrupted by the approach of Khaled at the head of a large army. Moseilma sallied forth to meet him with a still greater force. A battle took place at Akreba, not far from the capital city of Yamama. At the onset, the rebels had a transient success, and 1,200 Muslims were killed. Khaled, however, rallied his forces; the enemy were overthrown, and 10,000 cut to pieces. Moseilma fought with desperation, but fell covered with wounds. It is said his death blow was given by Wacksa, the Ethiopian, the same who had

killed Hamza, uncle of Muhammad, in the battle of Ohod, and that he used the same spear. Since his pardon by Muhammad, Wacksa had become a zealous Muslim.

"SURVIVORS TURN TO ISLAM"

The surviving disciples of Moseilma promptly became converted to Islam under the pious but heavy hand of Khaled, whose late offense in the savage execution of Maléc was completely atoned for by his victory over the false prophet. This is the story—given by Washington Irving — of this rebel of Muhammad's (from pages 15 through 17).

"MESSENGER MUHAMMAD'S HISTORY COMPARES"

The followers of Elijah Muhammad should give special attention to the Messenger's history here in America as it compares almost 100 per cent with the history of Muhammad and his followers, hypocrites and enemies almost 1,400 years ago.

They should study Muhammad's history, if they would like to learn, in words and deeds, how they compare with each other in his-

tory, and how closely Muhammad's hypocrites and enemies compare with all the prophets' hypocrites and enemies, from Noah to modern times and, with Messenger Muhammad in the U.S.A.

The Holy Qur-an states that Noah had a disbelieving son who did not believe in his father's preaching that there would not be an escape for anyone from the flood except those who were with him in the ark. This son and his wife (wife of Noah) disbelieved (see Holy Qur-an); and David's son, Absalom, disbelieved. Messenger Muhammad's history compares so closely with histories of former prophets and enemies in their homes and among their followers, that we are just compelled to point them out to you.

"MALCOLM COMPARES WITH HYPOCRITES OF HOLY QUR-AN"

Malcolm's defection from Messenger Muhammad compares so completely with the hypocrites of the Holy Qur-an that it does not take a scholar's eye to discern it. After his defection, Malcolm went first to the public to proclaim that he was going for himself — to the wonder of the world — after his teacher had brought him up

to such a great position before the eyes of the world. The world was astonished by the way he turned and jumped off of the spring-board of intelligence and honor into the chasm of shame, regret, despair and hatred. He was so beautifully presented to the people by his teacher, Messenger Muhammad, and was so sincerely backed by his teacher as his number one man. Yet, Muhammad knew his intentions and secretly whispered them here and there to his followers, telling them that one day Malcolm would do just as he is doing.

"MALCOLM UNSUCCESSFUL BUILDING MOSQUE"

Malcolm found himself unsuccessful in building a Mosque in opposition to the beautiful mission and message of Muhammad. When Messenger Muhammad entered New York on June 28, 1964 — though Malcolm tried to prevent his coming by putting out the threat of death against him, hoping that his threats would keep Muhammad from fulfilling his promise of visiting New York — he showed the wisdom and strategy of a general leading a victorious brave, and fearless army against the cowardly hypocritical dog (Malcolm). •

Malcolm thought that he had mastered — or could with his oration — New York against the wisdom and cleverness of Muhammad. But he and his followers were so openly defeated and put to a flight by Muhammad's intelligent and well-disciplined F.O.I. members (with their coolness, display of obedience to and love for their leader made them the envy of most organizations in America) that Malcolm changed his mind. He saw that a Mosque in opposition to Muhammad would not be able to bear enough fruit to overcome the wisdom of Muhammad.

"MALCOLM, GENERAL WITHOUT ARMY"

Malcolm then chose politics as his weapon against Muhammad. Malcolm, like a silly general without an army (as a white paper referred to him) offered to send troops to Mississippi to set up guerrilla warfare against the Southern murderers of our original people.

Harlem's Answer



THE ABOVE SCENE taken at Armory when all Harlem this year gave the Honorable Elijah Muhammad the greatest welcome given to a black leader, was the most shocking

repudiation to threats and claims made by disgraced hypocrite Malcolm Little.

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Page 12.

"WE ARE WITH MUHAMMAD" banner emblazoned on mass meeting on West Coast sides up the overwhelming response to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad who made trip despite threats and slanders.



When he saw he had no one to answer and had no munition plants to manufacture arms for such an army, another step was taken to deceive the poor, black man of America to once again bathe his head in blood.

The Southern devils would have welcomed him to send a shotzun army against mainland China is, grenades, and the weak-trained state troopers of Mississippi. They would have cut his poorly armed troop to pieces before they ever reached the state of Mississippi. Malcolm saw that he would have been defeated, having no political training and no knowledge of the science of the government's political machine. He could not verbally defeat them in an argument, not to even think of physical strategy. He, then, was going to set up poor, ignorant black men and women to their doom, while he already had planned to flee for his life to Africa.

"CAN MALCOLM

FACE THE PEOPLE?" Does he have the nerve to face these people? Whenever he thought he could lie and get his lie strengthened in the public, he would use the leaders. He kept intimating that the people would be shocked if they knew the true reasons for his defection from Muhammad. He

forgot he had announced he was on his own. He kept hinting until Muhammad wrote and told him to get on a house top or a mountain and shout to the world anything he wanted to shout about. But Messenger Muhammad also reminded Malcolm that only he maintained the keys.

"MALCOLM LACKS

"THE KEY"

Thus Malcolm found that he had not been successful in opening the door of success without Muhammad's key. So Malcolm lashed out his venomous poison to wash Messenger Muhammad with mud and filth. He searched Messenger Muhammad's family to see how many of them he could get on his side. He remained in Chicago while Messenger Muhammad was sick in Arizona, trying to gather strength to overthrow Messenger Muhammad and bury him. Malcolm had weak-minded Muslims going about talking of voting for him to be the leader after Muhammad, until one of Messenger Muhammad's sons (Wallace), whom the Messenger had nursed from a baby, thinking he would take over after his death. Here is where the new Islam; now being manifested by Allah, Himself, — unprofitable son s h a n e d tested by Allah, Himself, — for the Muslims in the Here-in-Alaikum) to hypocrites. father that he would be willing to follow Malcolm, and jealous of Muhammad's divine mission that RE-KO-SET out to trall the path of Mess-

whether or not he became a successor.

"NO MATCH FOR MUHAMMAD"

But they are no match for the wisdom of Muhammad. He was directed by God, Himself; to read a list of 104 books by certain authors on

his mission and the people he had to teach. Neither Malcolm nor the Messenger's son knew anything about this wisdom of Messenger Muhammad, nor of what Allah had taught him.

Messenger Muhammad, acting as a wise, experienced sailor, set his sails and compass, paying no attention to the yells of passengers who could not even read the compass. Messenger Muhammad said nothing, knowing that their ultimate end would be shame and regret.

"MALCOLM GOES TO CAIRO"

Malcolm went to Messenger Muhammad's son, Akbar in Cairo — knowing Africa. Messenger Muhammad's son would not have even spoken to him, unless he was telling him, "to rise up now and look at your head down there on the sidewalk," as

senger Muhammad made in 1959 in Africa and Asia, to win Messenger Muhammad's influence among the Orthodox Muslims. He left no stone unturned in trying to accomplish this.

"WORLD CHAMP DENOUNCES HIM"

He tried Muhammad Ali, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world. He wanted to share in that honor. Malcolm even claimed he was the one who taught Muhammad Ali, and that he should follow him. But God, Whose proper name is Allah, cut him off and made Muhammad Ali acknowledge and acclaim the mission of Messenger Elijah Muhammad as divine, and turned Malcolm down as a hard, cold-hearted hypocrite.

"MUHAMMAD'S PURPOSE IN AFRICA"

Messenger Muhammad did not go to Mecca for that purpose. He was invited there by one of the scientists to meet and have dinner with them.

Messenger Muhammad fused and returned to Jiddah, and from there to Istanbul, as he confessed to all,

that he was merely on an observation tour and not there to make speeches, contend with anyone, or proclaim his mission in America. Thus Messenger Muhammad acted wisely, since he had not yet gotten the entire 22 million so-called American Negroes aroused to the divine truth. He did not make such claims as the lying, hypocrite Malcolm, who later proclaimed himself as the chief leader of the so-called American Negroes. When he was African Conference of Independent States (held in Cal-

Hypocrite Brought Disgrace To Self, Family and Friends

(Continued from page 13)

he claimed he was the political man for the so-called American Negroes. Among the religious Imams, he proclaimed himself the religious head of Islam in America.

"CLAIMS BACKING OF WORLD MUSLIM COUNCIL"

Malcolm is the great liar and scandalizer of his master, who had taught him more than anyone ever had. Before his defection, he preached of Messenger Muhammad as being "the wisest man of our times." But, all the while, he was jealous of Messenger Muhammad's wisdom, and thought that by his eloquent delivery of the teaching, he could capture the people. So Malcolm went on the warpath, without a complete army and without the wisdom. He now sends such lies back to America that he has the promise of backing from the World Muslim Council in building a Mosque in New York to teach the American so-called Negroes true Islam.

"CLAIM NOT BACKED UP"

We have not heard this from the wise leaders of the East. This is Malcolm's lie. We do not believe that those leaders of the East are so weak as to join a man who knows nothing about Islam,

and was not divinely backed, but who has chosen himself. Malcolm had said he would not have religious teaching in his organization after his defeat by Messenger Muhammad in New York on June 28, 1964.

"MALCOLM RETURNED, SEEKS WHITE FRIENDS"

Malcolm returned from Africa trying to make friends with the white people and with the leaders of the NAACP, to see if he could steal leadership or a position somewhere. He played the hypocrite on both sides; against the white man of America and against Muhammad, too. He had blasted the white man and the NAACP for 9 or 10 years. He preached the truth, as revealed to Muhammad by Allah; that the white race was a race of devils, whom the father, Yakub, had grafted out of the black man 6,000 years ago, to try the wicked at ruling the righteous for 6,000 years. Malcolm now pleads to the white man that he had learned they were not devils, by seeing so-called white Muslims in Mecca, and that the religion of Islam is for all men and all nations, and not a

"tuxedo" religion, as he referred to the religion that God had given to Muhammad that no religious prophet or scientist has even dared to challenge bore him witness that it was the truth.

"MALCOLM LIKE DOG"

Malcolm had seen Muhammad crush and paralyze the disputes of many scholars and scientists of religion who tried to oppose him. And, now he returns to them, as the Bible says in making a parable of the hypocrite: "The dog that returns to his own vomit." All of them knew he was lying and that he had lied to them and lied to Muhammad in trying to overthrow him. But, the wisdom of God in Muhammad shows the whole world that he cares not if they disbelieve the truth of Allah as revealed to him.

They will not hurt him, but will hurt only themselves because Muhammad did not speak of himself, but of God, and God would back His own words. He is still trying to make the white man be-

(Continued on page 15)



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"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"
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lieve that he made a mistake in bearing witness to the truth of God as revealed to Muhammad (that they were devils) and now he wishes to have them accept him as their brother.

"MALCOLM MAKES FOOL OF HIMSELF"

Malcolm made the foolish and ignorant mistake a few weeks ago (as given in the New York Times newspaper) in trying to condemn Muhammad. He said his best friends were among such non-believing people as atheists, infidels, Hindus (whom the Muslim world over despises, as well as infidels), Jews, Christians, Catholics, and even "Uncle Toms." He really made a fool of himself. No Muslim is a Muslim who says such people are his best friends. No Muslim can be a Muslim who accepts such people as his brothers.

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque,

he would be a fool himself, their end — as he did his

will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of

the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

"MALCOLM: UNABLE TO HOUSE FAMILY"

Malcolm hired a lawyer to keep the eviction of his family in court as long as possible, just to give the Muslims trouble in getting him out of the house and lot owned by the Muslims. Messenger Muhammad allowed this to go on, knowing that the longer it went in court, the more people would have time to see him as he is—a foolish rebel and hypocrite not capable of even putting his family in a home. He had gotten popularity, and then became jealous of his teacher and his teacher's place. He now falls, as Lucifer did, from Heaven.

"GOD IS WITH MUHAMMAD"

To prove that God is with Muhammad and will not grant victory to or allow any one else to aid anyone in getting victory over Muhammad, Muhammad uses no order to call, converse, and arms. He just allows his hypocrites around with Evelyn Williams, planning Muham-

sages from Egypt, and other places to Muslim women in the Mosque, whom he thinks are weak with Muhammad and his leadership. He tries to use them, but most of them are not so weak—since

the manifestation of Allah's backing of Muhammad's mission—that they will agree to cast themselves down from the respect of the Muslims and Messenger Muhammad by following such an open and defeated hypocrite as Malcolm.

"MUHAMMAD THE VICTORIOUS"
Allah is making manifest that they cannot fight his apostle and win with their disbelier in Him and Elijah. No; not even to his own son (Wallace) and grandson (Hasan) who chose the road of hypocrites. They are now being defeated openly, as the Holy Qur'an declared they would be.

"MUHAMMAD THE VICTORIOUS"
Neither hypocrite nor any one else can win in opposition to those chosen by Allah.
WILL MALCOLM BE BOLD AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO MEET HIS DEFEAT?
(more to follow
in the next issue of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS)

Messenger's Divine Mission

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy

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Malcolm, the angriest black man in America, returned to New York last week after a four-month tour of Africa. In an exclusive interview with the Philadelphia Independent, the fiery leader bitterly condemned U. S. intervention in the Congo and what he called "the cold-blooded murder of thousands of Congolese Freedom Fighters by paid white mercenaries."

"The United States must be held responsible for the slaughter of black men in the Congo," Malcolm said. "The U. S. supported and financed the government of Moise Tshombe who murdered Patrice Lumumba, the first premier of the Congo. The United States supports Tshombe because he can be controlled and through him, the U. S., Britain and Belgium can continue to control the Congo."

Branding news accounts of the slaughter of white hostages in the Congo as "distortions and half-truths", Malcolm declared that while less than 100 whites had been killed by Congolese rebels, more than 4000 Negroes have been killed thusfar by white troops who are paid a bounty for every black man slain.

"The U. S., Britain and Belgium are determined to maintain control of the Congo at any price — even if it means the murder of thousands of Congolese," Malcolm said. "The Congo is the richest piece of property on earth. It has fabulous natural and mineral resources. If the Congo got into the hands of honest Negroes they would be in position to cause the downfall of Angola and eventually South Africa."

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'CANNIBALISM' LIES

Referring to reports of cannibalism of murdered white nuns, Malcolm declared:

"That's just another lie used by the U.S. Government to support its intervention in the Congo. Actually, many of those slain white people had lived in the Congo for forty years. If the Congolese Freedom Fighters wanted to eat them, they would have done it years ago when they were young and tender — not now."

Malcolm, who formerly was the number two man in the Black Muslim movement, resigned from that organization last March after a feud with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult. Malcolm has since formed his own black nationalist movement with headquarters in New York City.

The bearded Negro had nothing but praise for Red China, and its support of the Congolese rebels.

"I don't call it Red China," Malcolm said. "There is only one China and that is the China of Mao Tse Tung. There are more than 700 million Chinese and they all support the Congolese in their fight for independence."

NEGROES SHOULD SPEAK

Malcolm said that U.S. Negroes should make it their business to let their "Congolese brothers" know they do not support the policies of the U.S. government regarding the Congo. He said that he will call a mass rally next Sunday at New York's Audibon Ballroom to organize a protest march on the United Nations Building.

"The government of Red China has gained stature and respect from Africans in its support of the Congolese while the United States is condemned and despised for its support of Tshombe, a murderer with the blood of Lumumba on his hands," Malcolm declared.

"Many of the paid mercenaries who are fighting in the Congo are former U.S. soldiers from the Southern United States," Malcolm

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Mr. Bishop	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosenblatt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

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20 "The Philadelphia Independent"
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 12/5/64
Edition: Vol. 34 - No. 50
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Editor: RICHARD C.
Title: HENDERSON

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pointed out. "There are many Negro war veterans right here in Harlem. Some of them should volunteer their skills to the Congolese Freedom Fighters. They have as much right to fight side by side with their African brothers as the white U.S. mercenaries have to join Tshombe."

Malcolm said that the U.S. press had attempted to brand him as a convert to Chinese Communism because of his support of the Congo rebels.

SMEAR TACTICS

"It's just another tactic aimed at smearing me and discrediting my views," he said. "When I was in Africa I was honored by the continent's greatest leaders. I lived at President Sekou Toure's home in Conakry, Guinea. I conferred with Prime Minister Milton O. Bote for more than three hours when I visited Uganda. In Kenya, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta invited me to address the members of Parliament."

Malcolm said his affluence among Africans caused certain U.S. powers to seek methods of discrediting him.

"When I was in Kenya," he recalled, "the U.S. Ambassador came to me and asked me not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt our image among Africans. I told him that instead of attempting to quiet me, he should tell the U.S. government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and in Africa."



MALCOLM X

Dr. King Preaches Negro Restraint

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The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., talking with reporters at St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday. The Rev. Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, an associate of Dr. King, is seated at right.

By JAMES FERON
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 6.—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. told a congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral today that "the doctrine of black supremacy is as great a danger as the doctrine of white supremacy." Four thousand Britons packed the cathedral to its

huge doors to hear the first evensong sermon ever delivered in St. Paul's by a non-Anglican. Dr. King, a Baptist, said, "All over the world, as we struggle for justice and freedom, we must never use second-hand methods to gain it." Speaking in the measured cadence familiar to millions of Southern Negroes in the United States, Dr. King added:

"We must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, substituting injustice of one type for that of another. We must not substitute one oppression for another kind of oppression."

Rebuttal to Malcolm X

The civil-rights leader, visiting here on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace, devoted his sermon largely to noncontroversial themes. But his plea for moderation in the rights struggle appeared directed at the activities of Malcolm X, leader of the militant Black Nationalist movement, who is also in London.

Speaking on television last night, Malcolm warned that the patience of United States Negroes was wearing thin in the fight for equal rights. He intimated that major violence was just under the surface.

At a news conference after his sermon, Dr. King pursued the racial question. "Negroes in the United States are more in line with the philosophy of integration and togetherness," he said, "and not in line with racial separation."

He added that only 75,000 out of 22 million Negroes in the United States "joined groups supporting black supremacy."

Dr. King's invitation to deliver the Sunday-afternoon sermon came from Canon John Collins of St. Paul's. There were Negroes in the congregation, but their representation was small in proportion to their 1 per cent share of the population. There were also a few foreign visitors.

Dr. King spoke for three-quarters of an hour on the theme "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life: Length, a Healthy, Rational Self-Interest; Breath, Honor Thy Neighbor and Height, Love of God."

Quotes His Wife

He quoted Greek philosophers as well as poets, modern authors, world leaders, Mrs. King and the Bible. Occasionally he drew a murmur of amusement from the congregation.

Recalling the parable of the Good Samaritan, who helped a stricken man on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, Dr. King asked why a priest had passed by without stopping. The priest may not have noticed the stricken man, Dr. King said, or he may have been afraid to stop. Then again, Dr. King suggested, "he might have been rushing off to form a Jericho Improvement Association."

To many worshipers seated in the transepts or behind the massive columns along the nave, Dr. King was not visible.

Loudspeakers discreetly installed in recesses and behind statuary carried his voice throughout the cathedral.

After the sermon, the congregation stood and sang a hymn that began:

Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with
falseness,
For the good or evil side.

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Malcolm X Assails U.S. Role in Congo



BACK HOME. Malcolm X interviewed by television and newsmen on his arrival from Africa at Kennedy International Airport. Among those at the airport to greet him were three of his children, including Ilyasah, who seemed unperturbed by klieg lights.

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — Malcolm X denounced the "criminal action of the United States government in conjunction with Belgium in the Congo" last night at the first Harlem rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity since his return from Africa.

"We want the world to know we don't like what Sam is doing to our brothers in the Congo," the black nationalist leader declared.

At a press conference held upon his arrival at Kennedy International Airport on Nov. 24, Malcolm X was asked about the alleged massacre of white hostages in the Congo. He replied: "When Lyndon B. Johnson began to finance Tshombe's white mercenaries, it was only natural to expect such things to happen. The weight of the guilt is on the white mercenaries. It's too bad they had to die, but when you shed tears for those hostages, shed tears for

the Congolese who died too." "Congolese have been massacred by white people for years and years . . . Chickens come home to roost," he added.

At the Harlem rally, Malcolm charged that Lyndon B. Johnson was responsible for what had happened in the Congo. Characterizing Tshombe as the "worst Negro in the world," Malcolm told the audience of about 1,000: "Johnson is sleeping with him. Man you voted for him. You were insane, out of your mind. I don't blame you. You were tricked."

Commenting on the fact that the U.S. government pays the salaries of the hired white troops in the Congo Malcolm X suggested: "Many of you are vets and many of you are unemployed. We might put on a drive in Harlem to raise some black mercenaries." The audience roared approval.

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"The Militant"

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...Malcolm X Paris Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

Malcolm X pointed out that he was not against white people, but against all people who were doing wrong. He stressed that he was not and had never been a racist. At his press conference he declared that he wanted to get together with any persons — "white or black" — who were sincerely interested in working for a solution of the problems of Afro-Americans.

At the rally he attacked the United States Information Service as "one of the most vicious organizations that has ever been sent anywhere — it makes Goebbels' organization look like child's play." The USIS in Africa, he said, spreads the illusion that the Civil Rights Act has made the U.S. a paradise for black people.

He further charged that the U.S. government applied a great deal of pressure to prevent American Negroes from participating in the meetings of the Organization of African Unity. The USIS, he said, had in this connection singled him out for a smear attack.

The black nationalist leader emphasized the international character of the Afro-American's struggle for human rights. During his 18-week travels among the peo-

ples of Africa and the Middle East his "main theme was to try and impress upon them that there are 22 million people in the United States who are inseparably linked with them . . . The problem is one; the destiny is the same." He pointed out that the oppressed peoples must support each other's struggles for freedom.

Malcolm X explained to the Harlem audience that when he spoke for the OAAU, he put his religion in his pocket. "Any time I have a religion that won't let me fight for my people, I say to hell with that religion. That's why I'm a Muslim . . . It teaches you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It also teaches you, if someone steps on your toe, chop off his foot."

Described Trip

The recently returned traveler described his trip briefly. About half of his time was spent in Cairo, Egypt, which he described as a city with a revolutionary atmosphere. A great many liberation movements have headquarters there, he explained, noting that "all thinking people who are oppressed are revolutionary . . . This is an era of revolution . . . which means an era of change. They don't want a gradual change; they want a change right now."

He also visited Mecca in Saudi Arabia (for two days); Lebanon; Ethiopia; Zanzibar and Tanganyika (now Tanzania); Nigeria; Southern Rhodesia; Ghana; Liberia; Guinea; Algeria; Sudan, and Kenya.

In the course of his travels he spoke with: Nasser, of Egypt; Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania; Sékou Touré, of Guinea; Nkrumah, of Ghana; Azikiwe, of Nigeria; and briefly with Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya.

The next OAAU meeting will be held Sunday, Dec. 13, at 8 p.m. at Audubon Hall, 166 St. and Broadway. There will be no meeting on Dec. 6, because Malcolm X is flying to England for a debate at Oxford University. The Dec. 13 meeting will be on "The Congo Crisis." Specialists will report on what happened in the Congo giving information suppressed in the newspapers.

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Explained U.S. Put Up Wolf to Sell Fox

Paris Meeting Hears Malcolm X

By Ruth Porter

PARIS, Nov. 23 — There wasn't a square inch of unoccupied space in the meeting room. The seats were filled an hour before the lecture was scheduled to begin. The "late" arrivals stood or sat on the floor. When not another human being could be jammed into the hall, the crowd spilled into the corridors, hoping to stand within earshot. Those who arrived on time could not find standing room in the corridors and had to leave. The speaker himself could barely push into the room over the assorted legs of those on the floor. Africans, Americans black and white, European leftists of all persuasions, representatives of the press, all were intensely interested in what Malcolm X would say.

Invited to speak in Paris by "Presence Africaine," an African cultural organization which only a few weeks before had presented Langston Hughes, Malcolm X began by explaining that he represents two different organizations — one which is religious and one which is non-religious. "Tonight," he continued, "I am speaking for the one that is non-religious." After giving a brief characterization of the Black Muslim movement which split "primarily because it polarized into two groups — those who were militant and those who were more militant," Malcolm described the task of those who had left Elijah Muhammad:

"We also realized that, as Afro-Americans, our problem went beyond religion. To find out the kind of organization that would be most helpful to us, we studied the tactics and the strategy that our brothers and sisters were using in Africa. They tried to unite on the basis of what they could agree on, and formed the Organization of African Unity. We in the United States decided to form a similar organization, called the Organization of Afro-American Unity.



WORLD SIGNIFICANCE. Delegates to Pan-African Conference in Ghana. African struggle has sparked militancy among colored peoples of world.

Since the topic of this lecture tonight has been listed as the 'African Revolution and Its Effect on the Afro-American Struggle,' I feel that I should speak in my capacity as chairman of the OAAU rather than in my religious capacity — since the OAAU is a political movement.

"The spirit of militancy which has become so manifest in the United States and all over the West is inseparable from the spirit of militancy which exists in Africa," he said. "The enemies of our struggle for independence had tried to give Afro-Americans the impression that we have nothing

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in common with the people of Africa and the people of Africa have nothing to do with Negroes of the Western World.

"It is true," he continued, "that for many years those of us of African ancestry in the West were reluctant to identify with Africa, but this was [the result of] an image projected by our enemies. This enemy created a negative image of Africa as a jungle, a place full of wild animals, etc. The image was made hateful to us. They knew that once we were made to hate our own origin, we would hate ourselves. And all people of African ancestry throughout the world would hate Africa and hate themselves. They did it shrewdly and so successfully that they created those of us in the West who hated ourselves — our nose, our lips, our skin, our hair.

"Since 1959," Malcolm X said, "when the African states began to emerge, the image of Africa and the image of Africans has been changing. This threatens the number-one racist society on the face of the earth — the United States. South Africa preaches and practices racism, but the United States preaches integration and practices segregation. It is, therefore, much more hypocritical."

The hall rang with applause as the black nationalist leader added:

"Efforts of 'liberals' to solve our problems for us have been efforts to make us become more American than African. They have no desire or intention to solve the race problem because it would mean giving up power — and no one ever gives up power. It has to be taken from them."

The bi-lingual question period that followed was extremely lively, with many pointed and politically sophisticated queries and comments.

"How is it possible that certain people are still preaching non-violence?" an African asked.

"Easy to answer," replied Malcolm X. "Shows you the power of dollarism. The dollar makes anything possible. When the Sharpeville Massacre took place in South Africa, it brought out the fact that the brothers in South Africa had to go into action, that non-violence had become outdated. So they used their tricks. They gave an African a peace prize for being non-violent. In America, there are an increasing number of black people who have come to the same conclusion regarding non-violence; so they come up with another peace prize!"

Queried on the results of the recent U.S. presidential election, Malcolm replied:

"It is the same system. It isn't a President who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America; it is ruling the world. Nowadays, when a man is running for President of the United States, he is not running for President of the United States alone, but he has to be acceptable to other areas of the world where American influence rules.

"If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world — including people who call themselves Marxists — hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater. I have to say this: those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria; mercenaries to the Congo!"

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Millions of Britons See Malcolm X In TV Broadcast of Debate at Oxford

By Roger Protz

LONDON, Dec. 4 — Into the cloistered atmosphere of Oxford University, for centuries one of England's twin bastions of education for the sons of the upper crust, came the voice of American Negro revolt. Last night Malcolm X was one of the guest speakers in the end-of-term debate in the Oxford Union.

The black nationalist leader from the U.S. was speaking in support of the motion set for the debate — the now famous statement by Barry Goldwater: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The student audience, which included many Africans and Indians, gave the American visitor a long ovation for a stirring and vitriolic speech that cut through the traditional stuffed-shirt atmosphere of the Oxford Union, which is closely modeled on the House of Commons — complete with banal repartee and "honorable members."

Scotch Poet

Speaking with Malcolm X for the motion was the Scottish poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, who is a curious mixture of Scottish nationalist, Communist Party member and Anglophobe. He gave a somewhat clinical appraisal of the need for determined action by the people to win freedom and democracy.

Ranged against them were Humphrey Berkeley, a Tory member of the House of Commons, and Lord Stonham, a "socialist" member of the House of Lords. As they clearly had the most to lose by extreme action by the masses, they spoke fervently in support of moderation.

It was left to Malcolm X to set the debate alight with an impioned plea for the American Negroes and the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. He began by attacking the latest imperialist intervention in the Congo which had precipitated yet another round of bloodshed and misery. He was particularly scathing in his denunciation of the press which had turned the event into another excuse for racist attacks on "savages" and "primitives."



Malcolm X

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they have been using up to now."

He concluded with the famous passage from Hamlet: "To be, or not to be: that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them?"

To thunderous applause, he declared that the latter choice was the only possible one if people are to gain their emancipation.

The debate was televised on the BBC's main national network and must have been seen by at least ten million viewers. Lest they should be indoctrinated by Malcolm X's forceful arguments, the broadcasting company ushered in two of its leading commentators to refute his "wildly exaggerated" picture of the U.S.

The administration in the U.S., they said, was fully geared to pushing through civil-rights legislation. And, with that hypocritical paternalism which is the hallmark of liberal Englishmen, they solemnly agreed that Malcolm X could not be altogether blamed for his views. He had had an "unfortunate" upbringing and extremism breeds extremism!

The Motion

Turning specifically to the motion set for the debate, he said: "I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism, but when a man is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings I do not consider that a vice.

"When a man is a moderate in defense of justice for human beings I say he is a sinner."

He spoke of the day black men would come to realize that they were justified in taking uncompromising steps and any means necessary to bring about their freedom.

"I believe that the day when they do, many more whites will have more respect for them. There will be more whites than there are now on their side with this wish-washy, love-thine-enemy approach.

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"The Militant"

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Malcolm X, in Paris, is weighing top propaganda job offers from Ghana and Egypt.

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Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
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Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12/14/64
 Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
 Author: HERB LIDDE
 Editor: W.D. MAXWELL
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REPEAT PERFORMANCE. Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York last spring. He will speak for the Militant Labor Forum again on Thursday evening Jan. 7 on "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St., 8:30 p.m.

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Malcolm Dogma Comes Too Late

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

Nothing in the civil rights situation engages the attention of white Americans more quickly than the suggestion that the long-patient Negro is about to take up arms and wrack vengeance for past mistreatments.

The white public listens with only half an ear to the deadly statistics on Negro unemployment. It gives only part-time attention to the dilapidation, the rats, the filth, the robber rents and the crime of the slums. It yawns over demonstrably inferior schools in the Negro ghettos.

But let someone, known or unknown, raise a cry about using guns in a shooting war with white folks and the white community is all ears.

Malcolm X, the split-off Black Muslim, has been garnering gobs of attention for himself by expounding the don't-turn-the-other-cheek philosophy. Not only don't turn it, advises Malcolm, but smack a cheek of your own—a white cheek.

Malcolm went to the Middle East some months ago where he confessed to the discovery that white people are people, too. Commentators hoped, rather wistfully, that white Americans hereafter might expect less cyanide and more of the milk of human kindness in his sermons. It was not to be. At year's end Malcolm made sure of their unease and their apprehension for 1965 by a Harlem speech calling for the formation of a Mau Mau Society.

"If the language (of the oppressors) is a shotgun, get a shotgun," he said . . . "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword." Pointing a finger at his audience of fewer than 500 he urged Negroes to "even the score" with whites.



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BOSTON HERALD
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MONITOR
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Boston, Mass.

Date: 1/3/65
Edition: SUNDAY
Author: ROY WILKINS
Editor: VICTOR O. JONES
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Enthusiasm Wanes

Malcolm X is a persuasive debater and a rabble-rousing speaker in the Adam Clayton Powell class, which is to say, top grade. He also has grievances on his side—deep, callous, cruel grievances. The murderous Simon Legree policies of Mississippi and of areas in several other Deep South states are encouraged by the indifference of non-Southerners. The Malcolms, few though they be in number, have something going for them: The statistics, the history, the burnings, bombings, killings and perversions of justice in the courts.

But going against the Malcolms is the fact that they are probably too late. The forces under the banner of non-violence have at last aroused the nation. History has taken a turn in the years since World War II which has compelled the United States to act on its racial problem.

Even if the attendance figure was off by 200, this number out of 400,000 persons in Harlem does not suggest overwhelming enthusiasm in that community for the Mau Mau approach. History reveals that Negro Americans, as a group, have never committed themselves to retaliatory violence as a policy.

If they did not reach for shotguns and rifles when lynchings were at a twice-a-week average and when segregation and discrimination were in humiliating flower, they are not about to immolate themselves now, when things are improving, especially when they consider the 9-to-1 numerical odds.

This is not to rule out violence here and there, nor to suggest that every one of the impatient and frustrated younger Negro generation will abide by historical trends. These are more bitterly aware of their imposed disabilities than they were before better education and better communication opened their eyes. Some may listen to the Malcolms, especially if mobs are egged on by police and if persecution goes unpunished.

But if the United States does not rest on pious declarations and on a law-on-the-books, but moves steadily to eliminate racial bias, the Mau Mau idea will sputter and die.

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WASHINGTON SHOOK UP

Is Malcolm X Clueing In Africans on U.S.?

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — In response to a question at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity here last night, Malcolm X denied he had taken personal credit or responsibility for the unprecedented attack on American racism by African nations during the recent United Nations debate on the Congo.

The Jan. 2 *New York Times* had reported that Malcolm X felt he had "laid the groundwork" for the attacks during his four-month visit to Africa last summer.

The black nationalist leader, however, did not deny he felt it was a good thing for African countries to begin to take an interest in freedom for American Negroes.

It was obvious from the UN debate that victims of racism in this country have important new allies abroad. It was also apparent that the African nations see an identity in their struggle for freedom from white domination and the struggle of Afro-Americans.

The *Times* article accurately reported Malcolm's interest in the internationalization of the U.S. Negro struggle for equality; that he was a guest of many heads of state during his African trip; and that U.S. authorities took an early "interest in Malcolm's activities in

North Africa."

Unreported by the *Times*, however, was the consternation among U.S. officials when Malcolm X was given the red-carpet treatment in Africa.

In Kenya, for example, where he was given time on the govern-

ment radio station and had many top-level meetings with government officials, the U.S. embassy protested against such honors being given to Malcolm X, a person not held in high esteem by U.S. spokesmen. The protest was rejected by the Kenya government.



Malcolm X

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — Films of Egypt, Kenya and Ethiopia taken by Malcolm X on his recent trip to Africa were shown at the regular Sunday night rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity last night at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway. Despite freezing weather and a holiday weekend, about 700 people turned out for the meeting.

The beautiful color films included scenes of the Egyptian Independence Day celebration, showing many of the leaders of the liberation movements in Africa on hand to witness the military display. More films — narrated by Malcolm X — will be shown Sunday, Jan. 10, including scenes of Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt.

Okello Odongo, member of parliament and assistant minister of finance in Kenya, was introduced and spoke briefly, supporting what Malcolm X had said.

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(MALCOLM X)

HANOVER, N.H.--MALCOLM X, HEAD OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, SAID TONIGHT THAT HE WILL VISIT MISSISSIPPI NEXT MONTH TO "SHOW THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY NEW METHODS FOR SECURING FREEDOM."

HE TOLD MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE THAT THE SUMMER OF 1965 WOULD BE "THE LONGEST, HOTTEST, BLOODIEST SUMMER EVER."

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~~A 'ROAD OF LOVE' OR . . .~~

Malcolm X's Road of Violence

By GEORGE CARMACK
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala., Feb. 3 — Two routes to the right to vote have been dramatically laid out to the Negroes of this Alabama city.

Malcolm X has given the route of the Black Muslims —

a route of violence. He told more than 300 Negroes — many of them high school students — crowded in an old brick church here yesterday:

"The black people have the right to the ballot. I am 100 per cent for their effort to get it —

and by whatever means is necessary."

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth of Birmingham followed Malcolm X to the pulpit and laid out a route of non-violence — what he called a "road of love."

He said that when he and Martin Luther King Jr. first started working for Negro rights, they took this pledge:

"In our struggle to be free, we hold our affirm that not one hair on the head of one white man will be harmed."

Rev. Shuttleworth asked his Selma audience to take the same pledge.

CRITICAL

Malcolm X was critical of the United States — particularly its actions in the Congo. He accused the U.S. of instigating violence and said our nation "sent its planes to destroy people under the guise of a rescue mission."

"I don't think America is going out of business — not for communism or anything else," said Rev. Shuttleworth. "When I sing 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,' I know it's my country. I thrill at seeing Old Glory flying in the breeze. I consider it a privilege to work in a movement such as this for I know this is what Old Glory stands for."

The contrast between Malcolm X and Rev. Shuttleworth was not limited to the doctrine they preached.

WELL-TAILORED

Malcolm X — a tall man with a light brown beard, horn-rimmed glasses, wearing a dark, well-tailored suit — preached his violence in scholarly tones.

Small, wiry Rev. Shuttleworth

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-UPI Photo

Black Muslim leader Malcolm X
enters the picture in Selma, Ala.

|—dressed in a loose-fitting
brown suit— was every inch the
actor as he marched up and
down the stage behind the pulpit.

"Walk and keep on walking up
and down our streets and to our
courthouse to get our rights,"
he said.

(2)

Radio Interview With Malcolm X

[Harry Ring, Militant staff writer, has been delivering a series of news commentaries over radio station WBAI-FM in New York. His program of Jan. 28 was devoted to an interview with Malcolm X. The following is a transcript of the interview.]

Ring: Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom Now Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

Minister Malcolm, it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

Malcolm X: Well, I have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad, I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

Ring: Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?

Malcolm X: Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it. If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

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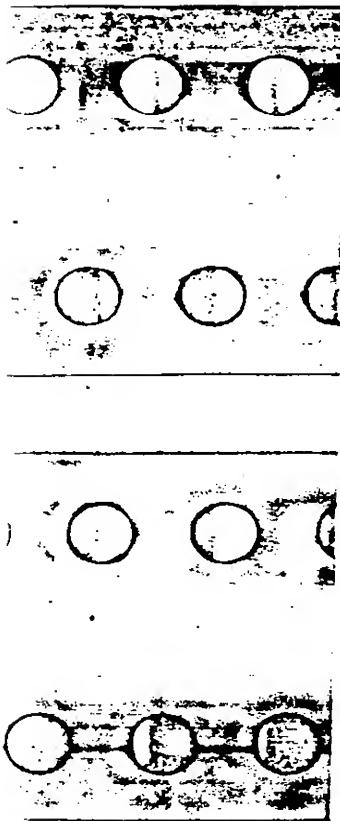
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King: A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the ~~at~~ warnings of danger of a race outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about that?

Malcolm X: Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he warns against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the causes of these explosions, he wants to condemn the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthings of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

King: One question that I've wondered about — in several year lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

Malcolm X: Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and oftentimes the president himself is a very shrewdly calculated racist. And so our grievances pending upon these grievances are being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have restrained from becoming verbally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human rights it internationalizes the problem and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of human rights.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not re-



Malcolm X

spected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black men who were born here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem — it is a human problem, just at a level all men — all humanity — serve in our behalf.

King: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm X: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22

mines b. & Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. I think the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

Ring: I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

Malcolm X: It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

Ring: To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who

had been without water and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A few days later I read that the Housing Commissioner had decided that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

Malcolm X: Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well co-ordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

Ring: You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

Malcolm X: I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

Ring: But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

Malcolm X: Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

Ring: I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

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(MALCOLM X)

LONDON--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WAS REFUSED ENTRY BY FRANCE TODAY. HE RETURNED HERE AND SAID DEFINITELY, "I NEVER GO TO ANY PLACE WHERE I AM NOT WANTED."

HE FLEW TO PARIS TODAY TO SPEAK TO AN AFRO-AMERICAN RALLY THERE BUT FRENCH OFFICIALS MET HIM WITH A GOVERNMENT ORDER SAYING HIS PRESENCE WAS UNDESIRABLE. HE WAS BACK IN LONDON FOUR HOURS AFTER HE HAD LEFT IT.

MALCOLM X SAID HE OFFERED AN ENGLISH PENNY TO FRENCH SECURITY MEN AT PARIS' ORLY AIRPORT AND TOLD THEM TO "GIVE THAT TO DE GAULLE BECAUSE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS WORTH LESS THAN A PENNY."

HE SAID THE SECURITY MAN REFUSED IT, THAT HE THREW IT TO THE GROUND AND THAT A POLICEMAN PICKED IT UP.

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